



DOCTOR OF EDUCATION (EDD)

Reading Buddies: Cross-Age Tutoring as Empowering Pedagogy for Young English Language Learners

Moriarty, Kristen

Award date:
2018

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

[Link to publication](#)

Alternative formats

If you require this document in an alternative format, please contact:
openaccess@bath.ac.uk

Copyright of this thesis rests with the author. Access is subject to the above licence, if given. If no licence is specified above, original content in this thesis is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) Licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>). Any third-party copyright material present remains the property of its respective owner(s) and is licensed under its existing terms.

Take down policy

If you consider content within Bath's Research Portal to be in breach of UK law, please contact: openaccess@bath.ac.uk with the details. Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

Reading Buddies: Cross-Age Tutoring as Empowering Pedagogy for Young English Language Learners

Kristen St.Clair Moriarty

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

University of Bath

Department of Education

July 2017

Copyright

Attention is drawn to the fact that copyright of this theses rests with the author. A copy of this theses has been supplied on the condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognize that its copyright rests with the author and that they must not copy it or use material from it except as permitted by law or with the consent of the author.

ABSTRACT

Reading Buddies: Cross-Age Tutoring as Empowering Pedagogy for Young English Language Learners

Kristen S. Moriarty

Globalization, and the movement of workers in the high technology industries of Silicon Valley have far reaching effects on the school systems which serve their children. This study takes place in a neighborhood public school in the heart of the area known as Silicon Valley, California, during the early implementation of the Common Core State Standards. During the time of this study, the student population in the valley was growing in number and diversity due to the impact of developments in the high technology industries in the valley, and the education system was recovering from drastic budget cuts as well as embracing a nationwide curriculum movement aimed at more standardization, high-stakes testing, and accountability. As the teacher in the role of participant observer and researcher, employing ethnographic methods of data collection, including video recordings, observations, interviews, and reflective journals and video journaling, student interactions were recorded and analyzed through the application of Bernstein's theories of pedagogic interactions as well as sociocultural learning theory and the work of Vygotsky. The results indicate that Reading Buddies could be an example of an 'empowering pedagogy' which gives linguistically and socially marginalized children a voice in an educational milieu driven by high stakes testing and accountability with an emphasis on the use of English. The study highlights strategies used by young children acquiring English as an additional language to interact with and co-construct meaning of English language texts during weekly Reading Buddy sessions. Seeing the diversity found in the classrooms as a strength and benefit to the education system, this study explores how allowing space for children to bring every day knowledge, home languages, and personal experiences into literacy practices impacts their interactions with English Language texts.

Table of Contents

Lists of Tables and Figures	6
Background to the Study	7
Chapter 1: Introduction	10
Chapter 2: Context for the study	
2.1 The United States Public Education Context	14
2.2 California Public Education Context and Language Policy	15
2.2a Teacher Credentials and Teaching English Learners	16
2.2b Accountability and High Stakes Testing in California	18
2.3 The District Context	20
2.3a Parkwood Elementary	26
2.3b Comparing Parkwood to a like school	30
2.4 Study Classrooms Context	33
2.4a Kindergarten Classroom	34
2.4b Third-grade Classroom	36
Chapter 3: Literature Review	
3.1 Introduction to the Literature Review	38
3.2 Reading Buddies	39
3.3 Sociocultural Learning Theory	42
3.4 Language Learning	44
3.5 Applying a Bernsteinian lens	48
3.6 Bringing Together Vygotsky and Bernstein	54
3.6 Conclusion of the Literature Review	55

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Engaging with a qualitative, child-centered approach	57
4.4 Employing Ethnographic Methods	58
4.3 Access to the Field	
4.3a The researcher's role in the field and District Gatekeepers	59
4.3b Reading Buddies Partner Teacher	60
4.3c Students, families and consent	61
4.4 Data Collection	64
4.4a The role of the researcher/teacher	67
4.4.1 The use of video equipment	67
4.4.1a Anonymity and safe storage of video data	68
4.4.1b Strengths and limitations of video equipment	69
4.4.2 Non-video data collection methods	70
4.5 The Reading Buddy Program	72
4.6 Data Analysis	76
4.7 The Selected Cases	81

Chapter 5: "I gonna be a teacher..."

The integration of play in literacy learning: Cheeku and Jasmin 83

5.1 Sociocultural background information for Cheeku	86
5.2 Sociocultural background information for Jasmin	92
5.3 The Buddy Relationship	98
5.4 Conclusion: What we might learn from Jasmin and Cheeku	112

Chapter 6: "Japanese and English together makes me"

Translanguaging and multilingual learners: Ichigo and Sophia 114

6.1 Sociocultural background information for Ichigo	116
6.2 Sociocultural background information for Sophia	121
6.3 Reading Buddies, Ichigo and Sophia	126

6.4 Conclusion: What we might learn from Ichigo and Sophia	135
Chapter 7: “Is it real or is it a joke?”	
Creating Space for meaningful interactions: Agent and Skywalker	137
7.1 Sociocultural background information for Agent	141
7.2 Sociocultural background information for Skywalker	144
7.3 “Reading Buddies READ” – the Buddy relationship	146
7.4 Conclusion: What we might learn from Agent and Skywalker	162
Chapter 8: Conclusions and Implications	
8.1 Implications for Policy	163
8.2 Implications for Teaching Practice	165
8.2a Interactions with peers	167
8.2b The influence of adults	168
8.2c Influences of the learning environment on young learners	170
8.2d Helpful resources from the perspective of young learners	171
8.3 Implications for Research Methods	172
8.4 Theoretical implications	174
8.5 Implications for Future Research	175
References	177
Appendices	184

List of Tables

Table 1	District enrollment by Ethnicity	22
Table 2	District enrollment by English Language Fluency	23
Table 3	Parkwood enrollment by English Language Fluency	28
Table 4	Student roles/involvement in school	51
Table 5	Timeline for Accessing the Field	63
Table 6	Books in Agent's basket in 3 rd grade classroom	154

List of Figures

Figure 1	District enrollment by Ethnicity	22
Figure 2	District enrollment by English Language Fluency	24
Figure 3	Parkwood enrollment by Ethnicity	27
Figure 4	Parkwood enrollment by English Language Fluency	28
Figure 5	Sequoia enrollment by Ethnicity	30
Figure 6	Sequoia enrollment by English Language Fluency	31
Figure 7	Graph showing Economic Disadvantage	32
Figure 8	Photograph of Kindergarten classroom	34
Figure 9	Photograph of Kindergarten play yard as a learning space	33
Figure 10	Photograph Reading Buddies	35
Figure 11	Photograph Reading Buddies	35
Figure 12	Photograph of Third Grade classroom	36
Figure 13	Interactive Class Chart	76
Figure 14	Brainstorm Chart recorded by teacher	77
Figure 15	Influences on Reading Buddies	78
Figure 16	Ichigo's drawing of what it means to be a reader	119
Figure 17	Sophia's drawing of what it means to be a reader	124
Figure 18	Agent's cyclical movement through books	158
Figure 19	Skywalker's Reading Buddy journal	160

Background to the study

Cross-age interactions and relationships developed through Reading Buddies have been a valued component of the Parkwood community for many years. Interviews with retired Parkwood teachers revealed that Reading Buddies started about 25 years ago at the school. In the beginning, 4 classrooms participated, but after one year and observations by the principal, it was decided that all classes would participate in the program due to the value seen in the partnership between older students and younger students both in terms of social-emotional benefits as well as reading benefits. As much as possible, the grade levels have been partnered, Kindergarten with 3rd grade, 1st grade with 4th grade, and 2nd grade with 5th grade. The agreement has been that buddy classes would meet a minimum of twice a month for at least 30 minutes. The activities in which the students participated were left up to the partner teachers to decide.

Interviews with young adults who graduated from Parkwood highlighted that being a Reading Buddy was among their favorite memories. Several recounted the feeling of being the “big buddy” for the first time and how nervous they were. Several reported how responsible and rewarded they felt helping their little buddy with reading.

The nature of the Reading Buddy program differs between class partnerships, depending upon teacher preference. The two teachers partnered in this study noticed that when students met more regularly, such as every week for 20 - 30 minutes, there seemed to be a positive impact on reading, writing, listening and speaking in English for students identified as English Language Learners. The teachers observed that students who were somewhat shy and reluctant to participate in class activities seemed to become more enthusiastic and engaged when working with a Reading Buddy. It was also observed that students who spoke the same language at home would seek each other out during Reading Buddies and converse in a mix of English and their

language as they pointed to various pages of books. The teachers also observed that scores on reading assessments seemed to be positively impacted during school years when they were partners and included weekly Reading Buddy sessions in the curriculum, although causation was difficult to determine, as there are many influences on literacy development.

During the budget crisis in the state of California that began in 2008, and has only seen a slight turn around starting in 2016 , deep budget cuts impacted public education. One obvious and far reaching impact was that class sizes rose from 20 students per teacher to 30 students per teacher in grades kindergarten through third at Parkwood. During this same time frame, there was a noticeable change in the ethnicity and English language proficiency of the students enrolling at Parkwood, whose families were moving to the area from around the world to work in the technology industry. Having 30 students with such diverse sociolinguistic histories and approaches to learning created the opportunity for the teachers involved in this study to capitalize on the preexisting cross age buddy system to explore Reading Buddies as an alternative space within the instructional day to provide support for the literacy development of all students, and in particular, for students acquiring English. It was felt that the impact of Reading Buddies was something more than could be simply measured through testing, and the students participating in the program were the ones who could help to understand the interactions. Therefore, the idea for this study began to grow. As the third-grade teacher, who is also the researcher involved in this project, I was motivated to find ways to engage with the students to be sure that student perceptions were authentically captured and represented. I was concerned about the power relationship between myself and the children and how that might impact data collection. I thought that I should be very aware and careful to present the research relationship as unique and different to the teacher/student relationship. An assumption I made in engaging in this research

with students was that they were the experts on their own lives and experiences, which represented a shift in the power dynamic between teacher and students that might present challenges to navigate. The students involved in the study had varying degrees of speaking, listening, reading and writing skills in English and in the language of their families. The intent of the research project was to create a space for young English language learners to work in cross-age dyads to make meaning of English language texts, and for their experiences to be explained in their own words in order to gain further understanding into the processes by which meaning is co-constructed and negotiated. Understanding such complex phenomena necessitated the use of a variety of data collection methods designed to be child-friendly and it was not until after the data was collected and I, together with the children, engaged with the data, that themes and common strategies began to emerge.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Reading Buddies, as it relates to this study, is a program in which older students and younger students work together during the school year to share literacy events. A cornerstone of the national education system in the United States is that all children are eligible for a free, appropriate public education, regardless of immigration status, socio-economic standing, learning needs, or language spoken at home (McGuinn 2015). Learning to decode and comprehend texts can be considered a primary focus of elementary level education, and Reading Buddies is one example of an alternative pedagogy designed to support young learners with the development of these skills. While public education in America, as in many other national systems of education, has undergone many changes in policy and curriculum expectations, a basic outcome has always been to teach children to read in English. Current trends in United States education policy are working towards one common national set of standards and expectations for all children, regardless of state of residence (Achieve 2014). English is the national language and the expectation for public schools is that children will become proficient in English regardless of languages spoken in the home. America has always been a nation of immigrants, yet being multilingual has not always been seen as a strength, and until relatively recently, official policy implementation guides have focused on the development of English language skills exclusively.

The impact of globalization, and the increase of global mobility of workers, has had a direct impact on the public education system in the United States in that the number of children enrolled in public schools for whom English is an additional language has dramatically increased, and the countries of origin represented by this population is diverse, according to the National Center for Education Statistics (2016). This is especially true in areas in which there is

a high concentration of industry in the technology field, such as Silicon Valley California, where this inquiry takes place.

The impetus behind this research was a desire to explore how children enrolled in third-grade and kindergarten in a neighborhood public school in Silicon Valley, California, who are acquiring English as an additional language, interact with English Language texts. For many of these children, they are the first in their family to be educated outside of their home country, which is a possible area of conflict between the expectations of the family and the reality of the public-school classroom. Due to the nature of the employment that has brought the family to the Silicon Valley, usually, at least one parent, if not both, is often well educated and has high expectations for the education of their children. Therefore, these children can, on one hand, be considered advantaged in terms of familial expectations and commitment to education, yet, on the other hand, could be at an educational disadvantage due to sociolinguistic diversity, and lack of understanding of the language of instruction in the school, as well as unfamiliarity with the expectations of the American public-school system. The ages of the children involved in this study range between five and nine years. The approaches to learning they bring into the classroom setting are as diverse as the languages they speak. Even though the state of California has identified this subgroup of learners as not making adequate yearly progress towards proficiency with state standards, ushering in stricter accountability and curricular expectations to ensure success is achieved (Baker 2008), observations of classroom performance and interactions with these young learners seem to tell a different story.

This inquiry draws upon the work of Basil Bernstein, in particular his theories of classification and framing, consensus and disaffection and pedagogic device, as well as the work of Vygotsky and sociocultural learning theorists, within the specific context of an alternative literacy

pedagogy, referred to in this study as Reading Buddies. This study, conducted by a participant observer, draws from ethnographic, case study, narrative and interview methods to engage young learners as active participants in identifying their own strategies for engaging with English language texts, in an attempt to explore what young learners identified as English Language Learners experience during Reading Buddies, and how those experiences build meaningful literacy interactions and empower or disempower young learners in this era of increasing accountability and high stakes testing. The qualitative methods employed allow for an in-depth look at the experiences of children, including their words and actions, with recognition of the importance of sociocultural histories and influences on the dynamic interactions observed. The use of rich descriptions of setting, participants, and interactions are included to help establish credibility for this qualitative study (Cresswell and Miller 2000). It is hoped that the provision of such narratives will enable the reader to be transported in to the vignettes in such a way that credibility is established (Cresswell and Miller 2000).

This inquiry sets out to explore the following questions:

- 1) What do young learners identified as English Language Learners experience during Reading Buddies, and to what extent do those experiences build meaningful literacy interactions and empower or disempower young learners in this era of increasing accountability and high stakes testing?
- 2) What strategies do young English Language Learners use when interacting with English Language text in a cross-age reading buddy situation?

The following seven chapters will present the research project and the theoretical support for it, beginning with a detailed examination of the context, beginning with the American education context, and moving on to the state, district, school and specific classrooms. Detailed understanding of the contexts of this study are relevant because another assumption I make is

that the learning that happens in the classroom is implicitly and explicitly impacted by sociopolitical and sociocultural influences. The literature review will include an overview of research positioning Reading Buddies within educational practice. The literature review will also include explorations of socio-cultural learning theories and current trends in language learning, as well as Bernstein's theories on pedagogic relationships, as these are all important to consider when engaging with this research project. The Methodology chapter will introduce literature relevant to conducting qualitative research with children as co-researchers, drawing on ethnographic methods. Data collection methods, including ethical implications of researching with children, and the ethical use and storage of video data will be explained within this chapter. Data analysis strategies will be included within the methodology chapter. There will be three chapters that each present data collected with young learners that offer insight into the differing strategies and processes employed when Reading Buddies were interacting with English language texts. The final chapter will include a discussion of the findings and any conclusions that may be drawn from this qualitative study, including possible implications for policy, teaching practice, and research methods. Theoretical implications, as well as strengths and limitations of the study and ideas for future research will be discussed.

Chapter 2: Context for the study

2.1 The United States public education system

This study takes place within a public school in the state of California in the United States. There are many political influences on public education in the United States, and while it is beyond the scope of this study to fully explore them, it is important to highlight certain aspects of the education system that have a direct impact on the school involved in this study. The education system in the United States has been under much scrutiny for the past several decades (Zhao 2009, Darling-Hammond 2010). There has been a significant increase in the mandates for school accountability that has resulted in high stakes testing and data reporting for all schools receiving federal and state money. The past decade has seen movement towards a standardized national curriculum, in an attempt to ensure that all children in America receive a high quality public education (NASBE 2014). This movement has of course been controversial and states are not mandated to implement the new Common Core State Standards, although most, like California, choose to do so (Achieve 2010). Within the implementation documents for the state of California for the Common Core State Standards, there seems to be shift towards embracing multilingualism, while at the same time, an increase in the expectations for English Language literacy, and the skills students are expected to develop with regard to interacting with a variety of English texts (CDE 2015). This binary has particular relevance to this study, because Reading Buddies provides an opportunity for primary students who are learning English as an additional language to engage with English texts by drawing on their complex linguistic repertoires and socio-linguistic histories, which may not necessarily be encountered within traditional public school instruction. This is where attention to the classification and framing of pedagogic relations can inform literacy practices and create space for young learners to engage in instructional discourse, within a context that may or may not legitimize their identity as a learner.

2.2 The California public Education context and Language policy

In Santa Clara County, California, the public education system is divided into districts, which are often within the boundaries of one or two towns or small cities. Some districts include only elementary and middle schools, while others, in close proximity to these, are for high schools. Districts classified as unified districts provide education services for children aged preschool through high school. Unified districts make up a small percentage of the education systems within Santa Clara County.

The state of California has had its own curriculum standards and districts throughout the state have historically had their own curriculum standards based upon the state standards and adopt curriculum materials independently. The county and the state do provide a list of approved materials from which to choose, and the adoption of the Common Core State Standards by the state of California has meant a closer alignment of curriculum standards and materials between districts.

2.2a Teacher credentialing and English Language Learners

Teachers who work in public schools in the state of California must be credentialed by the state. In order to be eligible for acceptance in to a credentialing program, candidates must have an undergraduate Bachelor of Science or Bachelor of Arts degree, earned from an accredited university or college with a minimum of a 2.5 grade point average. Credential programs are considered graduate level courses and candidates may earn a Master's degree by completing a few more courses than required for a preliminary credential. During the 1990s, the state of California began to redesign the teacher credentialing requirements to ensure that all students received a free, appropriate public education, in particular, students learning English as an additional language. During this time, all teachers were required to work towards a supplementary credential in Crosscultural,, Language and Academic Development or CLAD. Up until 2006, teachers could take an exam to qualify for the supplemental credential. Since 2002, coursework for teaching English learners has been embedded within the required courses for all teaching credentials in the State of California, meaning that there is no longer a supplemental CLAD certification, but rather, the qualification and authorization to teach students identified as English language learners are embedded within the credential program(CTC 2017). The state of California recognizes the growing number of students enrolled in public schools who are acquiring English as an additional language and therefore requires all teachers to have the education and training to meet the needs of these learners (CTC 2017). The result of this is that all teachers who complete a credential program are considered qualified to teach students who are acquiring English. The Commission on Teacher Credentialing continually works with other states to determine if authorizations earned outside of the state of California have equivalency to the California requirements. Teachers who move into the state with out of state

credentials may be eligible for preliminary credentials, but often have to take California specific courses to qualify for the California credential. The California specific requirements include study of cross-cultural communication, cultural and linguistic diversity, and how having a transitory life style impacts learners in the classroom.

2.2b Accountability and High Stakes Testing in California

In order to be in compliance with Federal mandates for school accountability, students in California in grades 3 – 11 take an annual standard based assessment that assesses progress towards mastery of the Common Core State Standards in English Language Arts and Mathematics. In addition to this, schools must have a system of assessment in place that monitors student progress throughout the school year. In the particular district in which this study takes place, students in the elementary grades are assessed individually by the teacher in the area of reading three times a year, using the *Fountas and Pinnell Benchmark Assessment System*. Elementary aged students also take a performance based assessment in Mathematics four times a year and complete a writing assessment annually. In addition, students whose registration information indicates that a language other than English is spoken in the home in grades pre-kindergarten through 12th grade are categorized as English Language Learners and must take the California English Language Development Test (CELDT) annually. This assessment measures skills with listening, speaking, reading and writing English, and students must score a 5 in all areas and be evaluated as proficient against a performance based rubric by the classroom teacher before being considered Fluent English Proficient and exited from the English Language Development designation. The results of all of these assessments are tracked by the school, district, county, and state, as a means to monitor student progress and provide data used in evaluating program effectiveness and school accountability. There are no measures in place to track student achievement in the language of the family at Parkwood or the majority of schools in this district.

In the particular district in which this study takes place, the disaggregated data from annual state testing indicates that students in the category of English Language Learner are not making adequate yearly progress towards proficiency in meeting the English Language Arts standards, therefore, the district is under scrutiny by the state. The dynamic of the accountability system seems to identify English Language Learners as deficient, without regard for the rich and varied communicative repertoires each individual brings to the classroom (Garcia 2011, Hornberger and Link 2012).

2.3 The District Context

The socio-political location of the school involved in this study was within a large suburban unified school district in Santa Clara County, California, in the heart of Silicon Valley, during the 2015-2016 school year. In carrying out this research, and to address the research questions, it was vital to purposefully select a school which had a high degree of diversity. Parkwood school, and the district, were selected on the basis of them being a school and district with a high level of cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity. Globalization and the global movement of workers in the high technology industries has had a direct impact on this area of California and the student population of the public schools. While California has historically been home to a diverse population, the recent expansions in the high technology industries have resulted in an even more diverse population, resulting in schools in which there can be 30 or more languages spoken in the homes of students. This study aims to capture the experiences of young learners who are acquiring English as an additional language within such diverse contexts, therefore this district and school were deemed to be appropriate for the purposes of this study.

This unified district had a total school enrollment of 15,369 students in grades kindergarten through twelve during the year of this study. Of the 25 schools in the district, seventeen are kindergarten through fifth grade elementary schools and one is a kindergarten through eighth grade school. Three are middle schools for grades six through eight, two are comprehensive high schools for grades nine through twelve and two are alternative middle and high school programs for students with needs that are not met within the traditional middle and high school programs.

For purposes of anonymity, as requested by district administration, the school where this study took place will not be identified, and will be given the pseudonym Parkwood Elementary.

Parkwood Elementary is a neighborhood school, which means that children living in the attendance area as defined by the district are assigned to attend this particular school.

The focus population for this study are students identified as English language learners, therefore, data with regard to this population within the district is shown below. This data is significant as it shows the ethnic diversity within the district, which has a large attendance area, including four towns/small cities. This data is gathered from information provided by families at the time students are registered for school. Throughout the district, as is common throughout California, the largest ethnic group is identified as Hispanic. Many district programs and policies are created with this information in mind. As the data will show, Parkwood has a demographic profile that is distinctly different than similar schools within the district, and is unique within the district's overall enrollment.

Federal Ethnicity Code	Ethnicity	Percent of Total	Count
100	American Indian or Alaskan Native	0.6%	85
201	Chinese	4.9%	750
202	Japanese	1.2%	184
203	Korean	1.8%	279
204	Vietnamese	4.4%	669
205	Asian Indian	13.6%	2,083
206	Laotian	0.1%	8
207	Cambodian	0.1%	19
208	Hmong	0.0%	7
299	Other Asian	1.7%	261
301	Hawaiian	0.1%	10
302	Guamanian	0.0%	5
303	Samoan	0.2%	34
399	Other Pacific Islander	0.3%	50
400	Filipino	6.8%	1,043
500	Hispanic or Latino	35.1%	5,395
600	Black or African American	2.9%	441
700	White	20.8%	3,196
800	Two or More Races	5.2%	795
999	Blank on Purpose	0.4%	55

Table 1: District enrollment by ethnicity

District Enrollment by Ethnicity as of September 2015

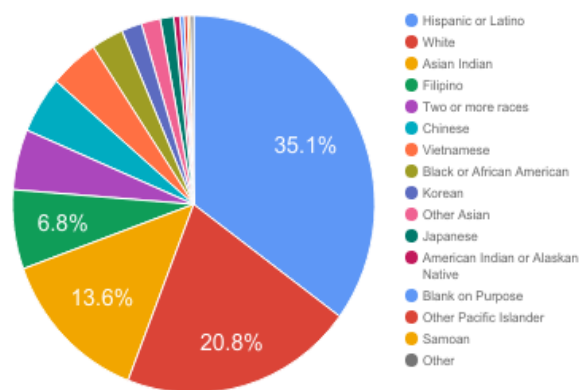


Figure 1: Pie chart representing District enrollment by student ethnicity

This data show that this area of Santa Clara County is home to an ethnically diverse population.

The following data show that this ethnically diverse population also encompasses linguistic diversity, with students at varying degrees of proficiency with English throughout the district.

English proficiency is an area of focus for this district because the state of California has identified, through high stakes testing and accountability systems, that students identified as English language learners attending schools in this district are not making adequate yearly progress on standardized state tests in the area of English Language Arts, which includes reading, writing, speaking and listening, in English (CDE 2015b, Baker 2008).

Language Fluency	Percent of Total	Count
English Learner	24.7%	3,789
English Only	48.1%	7,382
IFEP-Initially Fluent	5.3%	809
RFEP-Redesignated	21.4%	3,291
To Be Determined	0.5%	75
		15,346

Table 2: District enrollment by English Language fluency

**District Enrollment by Language Fluency
September 2015**

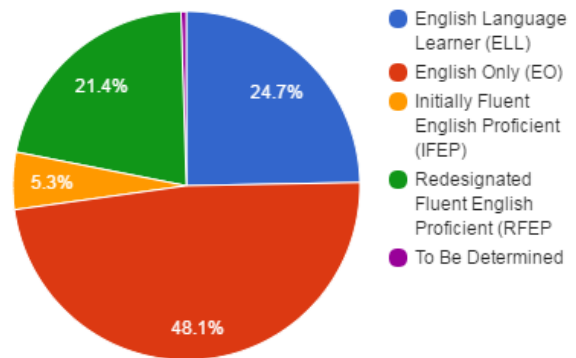


Figure 2: District Enrollment: Language Fluency

District-wide, 48% of students are identified as having English as the only language spoken in the home. About 25% of students are identified as English learners, meaning they have achieved a score of 1,2,3,or 4 out of 5, on annual state tests of English Language proficiency, the California English Language Development Test

(CELDT) in speaking, listening, reading and writing in English, and their registration information indicated that a language other than English is spoken in the home. Students who score a 5 on this annual test are considered initially fluent in English (IFEP) and represent about 5% of the district population. Students who pass with a 5 in all four areas of English proficiency and are also evaluated to be fluent by teachers on a performance based rubric, are considered to be redesignated fluent English proficient(RFEP). This subgroup of English learner represents about 22% of the district population. There is no data on the level of proficiency students achieve in the language of the family.

Another area that is significant for educational performance and programs is economic disadvantage (Friere 1993, Darling- Hammond 2010). In the district overall, about 36% of students are considered economically disadvantaged as defined by eligibility for free and reduced priced meal plans, being in the foster care system, homelessness, migrant worker families, and students for whom neither parent is a high school graduate. Poverty has been identified as a key deterrent for equity in education, and the complexities of the socioeconomic disparities that exist throughout the United States and the district involved in this study, undoubtedly contribute to existing power differentials within public education (Apple and Bean 2007, Darling-Hammond 2010, Apple 2013).

2.3a Parkwood Elementary

Parkwood Elementary is located in a residential neighborhood comprised mostly of affluent, single family homes, with wide, tree-lined streets. There are also several apartment complexes and a mobile home park on the far reaches of the attendance boundaries. Parkwood is a 50 year-old school located on more than 10 acres of land. It has large playground and turf areas, six single story main classroom buildings connected by open air breezeways, and 13 single-story portable buildings. There are outdoor picnic tables and large trees for shade throughout the campus. The physical structure of the school is important to this study because Reading Buddy partner classes involve pairing upper grades and lower grades, with classrooms often located across campus, so the movement of students around campus as well as creative use of open spaces impacts the program.

The attendance area of the school includes parts of three different cities and is an area of rapid growth and development due to the large number of high tech businesses with headquarters in close proximity. These companies, including such giants as Apple, Intel, Google, Yahoo, and Facebook, employ highly skilled workers and engineers from around the world. Parkwood Elementary attracts families from many countries because of its high test scores and school ratings, and its proximity to parks, shopping, highways, and places of employment. Having an

attendance area that includes three different cities is unique in that most neighborhood schools fall within one city limit.

As shown in this chart, school data indicates that of the 684 students, approximately 57% of students are Asian when one combines the population of students identified as Asian Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Cambodian and other Asian, 26 % are White (non Hispanic), 7% of the students are Hispanic or Latino, 5% are Filipino, .7% are African American, .4% are Pacific Islander, .1% are American Indian, and 5% report multiple ethnicities or opted not to respond. (School Accountability Report Card, sarconline.org, accessed online 11/26/16).

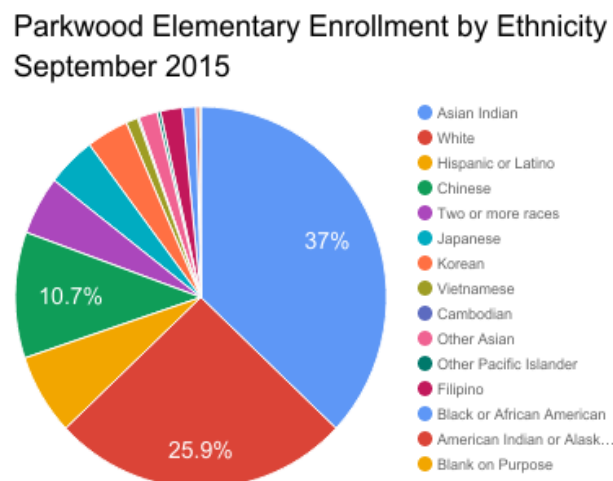


Figure 3: Parkwood enrollment by Ethnicity

In contrast to the district data, only about 7% of the population of Parkwood is identified as Hispanic, as opposed to 35% of the total district population. The largest ethnic group at

Parkwood Elementary identifies as Asian Indian, representing 37% of the school's population, whereas this population only represents about 14% of the total district population.

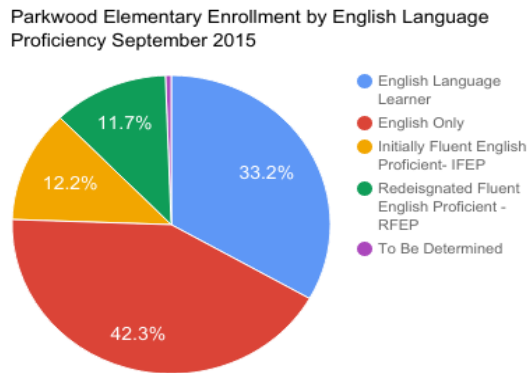


Figure 4: Parkwood Enrollment by English Language Proficiency

Only 42% of the students enrolled at Parkwood Elementary have English as the only language spoken in the home, compared with 48% of the overall district population for whom this is the case. About 33% of the population is identified as English language learners, and about 24% of the population is identified as either initially fluent or redesignated fluent in English, meaning that about 57% of the population is working towards meeting English proficiency standards.

Language Fluency	Percent of Total	Count
English Learner	33.2%	227
English Only	42.3%	289
IFEP-Initially Fluent	12.2%	83
RFEP-Redesignated	11.7%	80
To Be Determined	0.6%	4
		683

Table 3: Parkwood English Language Fluency

There are 30 languages reported as spoken in the homes of students attending Parkwood Elementary. For the purpose of this study, the primary languages spoken by participant students, other than English, include Telugu, Japanese, Mandarin, Hindi, Korean, Marathi, Russian, Latvian, Spanish and Hebrew.

In contrast to the overall district population, the student population of Parkwood Elementary identified as English learners has historically made adequate yearly progress in English language development. As mentioned previously, this subgroup of learners throughout the district has not made adequate progress, therefore, the whole district is under scrutiny by the state, and many district policies insofar as instructional guidelines for this population of students are put into place for the district as a whole without regard for variances in school populations and performance.

The economically disadvantaged population of Parkwood Elementary is identified to be about 7.5% of the enrolled students, which is significantly less than the district total of students who are classified in this group.

2.3b Comparing Parkwood to a like school

Parkwood Elementary is the largest elementary school in this district. Of the neighborhood schools, that is, the schools in which attending students live in the area of the school, it has the highest scores on the annual state testing. To get a sense for the uniqueness of Parkwood, it is important to compare it with another school that is close in proximity, size and overall academic performance. Sequoia Elementary is also a 50 year old school in a neighborhood of affluent, single family homes with tree-lined streets, about one mile to the north of Parkwood. There are more apartment homes in the Sequoia attendance area than that of Parkwood. The attendance boundary for Sequoia falls within one city. Sequoia is also an ethnically diverse school, but seems to have a balance between three main ethnicities of Hispanic, Asian Indian, and White, as shown in the graph and chart below.

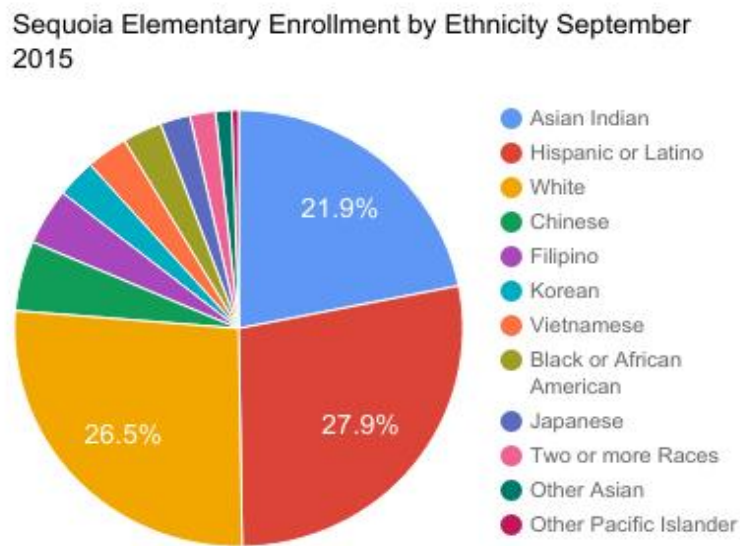
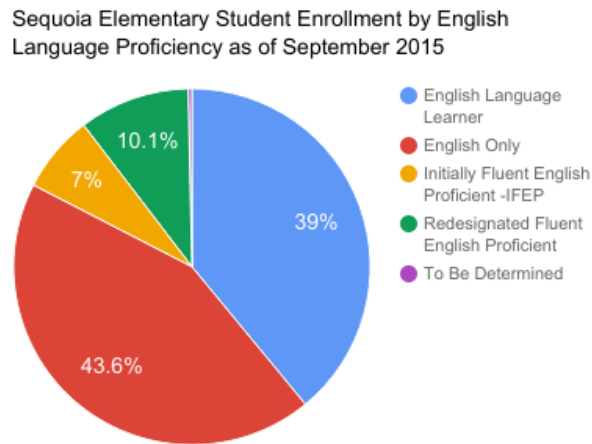


Figure 5: Sequoia enrollment by Ethnicity

Sequoia’s ethnically diverse population also represents linguistic diversity and students with a wide range of proficiency with English. The following data charts describe the English proficiency of Sequoia’s population, which is very similar to the population of Parkwood, in that



about 44% of the population speaks only English at home, and about 40% of the population is designated as English Language learners.

Figure 6: Sequoia enrollment by English Language Proficiency

A significant difference between Parkwood and Sequoia is that approximately 24% of the students at Sequoia are identified as economically disadvantaged, whereas only 7.5% of the Parkwood population fall within this category. Both schools have a smaller percentage of students identified as economically disadvantaged than the district as a whole, as shown in the following graph:

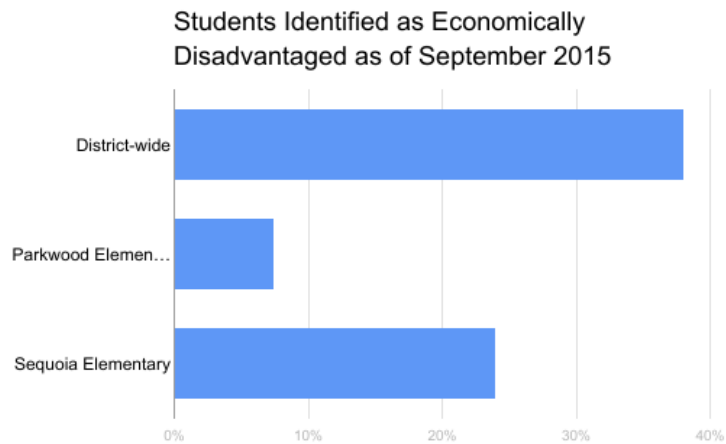


Figure 7: Economic Disadvantage

This area of Silicon Valley, California, is home to an ethnically and linguistically diverse population. There are variances in economic advantage throughout the district. The data presented here is intended to show that while the population attending Parkwood Elementary has many similarities to the population throughout district, it is also a unique community of learners. Parkwood Elementary provides educational services to a seemingly economically advantaged population of migrant families. However, services are provided in a monolingual English language environment, which may put students and their families at a disadvantage due to the linguistic diversity within the population.

2.4 Study classrooms context

The two classrooms in which this study took place were a kindergarten classroom and a third-grade classroom. The classrooms at Parkwood are spacious and bright with large windows that cover one whole wall and interior and exterior doors. Student work and artwork is prominently displayed throughout the classrooms, interior spaces and office building. The outdoor spaces of the school were also used as learning spaces.

2.4a The Kindergarten classroom

The Kindergarten classroom utilized in this study was a large, corner classroom at the front of the school, with a wall of floor to ceiling sliding glass doors that look out onto the Kindergarten playground. There were six spacious tables of a height appropriate for five and six year olds, surrounded by 8 small chairs, two round tables, a teacher desk, student cubbies, and a restroom, sink and drinking fountain. The classroom had a



Figure 8: Utilizing learning spaces in the Kindergarten classroom

large, spacious carpet area, a playhouse built in one corner, a toy center, and audio visual equipment in a cupboard near the teaching wall, which was lined with low bookshelves housing picture books and leveled readers. Available wall space displayed student work. An exterior door led to the fenced in kindergarten playground, which had several picnic tables under tall redwood trees, an open grass covered lawn, a play structure and blacktop area for basketball and



Figure 9: The Kindergarten play yard as a learning space

a tricycle path. Students also met outside at the picnic tables, or on the lawn under the trees.

The main classroom door, led to a grassy lawn, with a manicured decorative garden on one end and the breezeway leading to the office building on the other end. The layout and organization of the classroom is significant because students and the teacher have choice when it comes to work space. The carpet areas

are spacious enough to allow for children to stretch out and work or sit in small groups and spread learning materials around on the floor. The tables are low so students can either stand or sit in small chairs to work. The chairs are easily moved to accommodate different numbers of students at each table. Students can work outside and still be visible to peers and adults in the classroom due to the large glass wall. The



Figure 11: Reading Buddies sitting by the cubbies enjoying a book together.



Figure 10: Reading Buddies stretching out on the carpet to share a book

shelves and counters are low, allowing students

ready access to learning tools and materials. The large classroom size allows for fluid movement around the classroom and also allows for small group work in differing parts of the room, with minimal noise distractions.

2.4b The Third-grade classroom

The third-grade classroom used in this study was also a spacious corner classroom in the library building near the center of campus. The wall of windows looked out onto the blacktop and upper grade playground area. The interior door led to the school library. Student desks were arranged in small groups of four to six individual student desks. These desks have individual storage compartments and are free-standing, so students are free to stand or sit in their chair. There



Figure 12: The third-grade classroom is a student-centered learning space

were three tables designed for small group instruction and projects in three corners of the classroom.

These tables were the appropriate height for third-graders and had chairs that could be moved to accommodate group size. The

classroom had a teaching wall consisting of sliding white boards,

behind which was audio visual equipment and storage. The area in front of the teaching wall was open carpet space designed for students to use. This space was large enough for all students to sit together for direct instruction. The space was also available for students to stretch out and work, or meet with small groups. One corner of the classroom was the designated class library, consisting of open shelves with books organized in baskets by genre and author. The library center had a carpeted area, pillows, and cushions for student use while reading or working with a small group. A small lamp illuminated the space with a warm light, different from the fluorescent lighting on the ceiling, creating a cozy, relaxed atmosphere.

The physical layout of the classrooms is significant to this study because the classroom spaces were designed to be child centered and provided opportunities for student choice with regard to work spaces, movement and configurations. Students had easy access to learning materials and tools as well as books. Students were encouraged to utilize the classroom spaces to maximize personal engagement in learning, therefore the learning spaces were designed to be flexible and accessible. Such uses of space may be the norm in these two classrooms at Parkwood Elementary, but may not be typical of practices in other classrooms at Parkwood, or at other schools. This internal classification (Bernstein 2000) of space and the expectation that students understand how to navigate such a milieu could represent a potential conflict to traditional views of classroom that some families may have based on their own cultural experiences and understandings (Perez 2013). It is important to consider this potential conflict because the children in this study are from different countries and their parents have their own educational experiences that shape their expectations, whereas the school has its own learning culture and expectations which may not be in accordance with that of expatriate families. This is where the application of Bernstein's theories is particularly helpful in understanding the space created when students and schools interact and how strengthening and weakening the frame of pedagogic interactions can help to orient students towards, and engage them in, the regulative and instructive discourse of the school.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction to the Literature Review

The literature review chapter will begin by exploring Reading Buddies and related research within the field of cross age reading schemes. That learning is a sociocultural process is an underlying assumption made when engaging in this research project, so the work of Vygotsky and post-Vygotskian theorists will be explored. The learners involved with this study are categorized as English language learners, so theories related to language acquisition and learning will also be explored. The nature of the interactions of young learners within school lends itself to the application of Bernstein's theories on pedagogic relationships, therefore the work of Bernstein will be discussed within the Literature Review. All of these topics are relevant to this research project which explores Reading Buddies as empowering pedagogy for young English Language Learners.

3.2 Reading Buddies

Within academic research, there are a number of ways in which Reading Buddies programs are categorized. There is a significant body of research that shows that cross-age pairing leads to gains in literacy, reading accuracy and comprehension skills for both the older student and the younger student (Cohen et al 1982, Rubinstein-Avila 2003, Topping 1989, Cianca 2012). Allen (1976) presents a thorough history of cross age tutoring back to the 18th century, describing the work of Andrew Bell who ran a school for orphaned children and documented the educational benefits of cross age interactions. Bell also described the behavioral effectiveness that resulted when older and younger children worked together. Allen (1976) also describes the work of William Bentley Fowle, whose belief it was that children made better teachers than adults because they could relate more accurately to the emotions of peers and younger children. Rekrut (1994), who also references the work of Andrew Bell, describes the work of Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker schoolmaster, who designed his schools around the belief that children learn best from one another.

More current studies about Reading Buddies indicate increases in reading skills, self-esteem and sense of belonging, for participants (Block and Dellamura 2000/2001, Babicki and Luke 2007). There is a growing body of research into reading partners, sometimes referred to as reading buddies, in which children within the same classroom partner up to explore texts together (Rubinstein-Avila 2003, Christ et al 2014, Christ et al 2015).

As an intervention, there is general consensus by literacy researchers who have researched peer reading and cross age reading buddies that programs that provide collaborative literacy events are beneficial to diverse learners in mainstream classrooms, including students with learning

disabilities (Fuchs et al 1997, Mathes, et al 1998, Block and Dellamura 2001, Lowery et al 2008) While studies can be found that explore using cross age tutoring or reading buddies with students for whom English is an additional language, they mostly involve middle school, high school and adult learners. Many of the studies are quantitative, providing a statistical analysis of the gains made by participants on very specific skills taught during the buddy sessions (Wright and Cleary 2006, Jennings 2004, Cummins 2000, Fielding and Pearson 1994). Rubinstein-Avila (2003) presented case study research in which she documented the face to face encounters of a first and second grade dyad in a dual immersion program in which the students were using both their primary language, which was Portuguese, and English to negotiate meaning of texts within a buddy reading program. The students involved in her study had differing levels of proficiency with both Portuguese and English and engaged in power negotiations as well as cooperative strategies to co-construct meaning of texts in both languages. Hall and Williams (2015) presented research identifying the benefits on motivation of reading buddies when elementary aged children were partnered with University students. They found that both the elementary students and the University students reported being highly motivated to be prepared for the sessions, and all found the experience to be meaningful and rewarding.

Cianca (2012) conducted a mixed method research project on cross age reading buddies in an underfunded budget school in Ethiopia, in which 7th graders were partnered with younger children for reading buddies with a goal to increase the English language literacy of all children involved. While the aims of Cianca's study differ from this inquiry, her study is significant because it used qualitative methods to record and report student experiences in the students' own voices. One of the purposes outlined in her study of the reading buddy program in Ethiopia that made it particularly relevant to this study was that the teachers were seeking to find an

alternative instructional strategy that fit within the budgetary restrictions of a school with large class sizes. Her study found that Reading Buddies presents one opportunity to engage in student centered pedagogy that is motivating and is also an opportunity for students to support each other in using linguistic strengths to build English language literacy. She found that the students were highly motivated by the program, with the 7th graders even volunteering during free time to work with even more little buddies. Not only were the students enjoying interacting with the selected children's literature, they felt empowered to use English more frequently and encourage their younger buddy to do the same.

For the purpose of this research project, Reading Buddies is not positioned as an intervention, nor is it a structured program designed to teach specific skills to students identified as underachieving, but rather, Reading Buddies is a way of adapting curriculum which creates the space in which to weaken the frames of pedagogic practice to give more control over their learning to potentially marginalized students. The research presented in this paper aims to address the lacunae in current qualitative research that focuses on young elementary aged students acquiring English as an additional language and the processes they use when interacting with texts during Reading Buddies, which is a child-centered program in which partners of differing ages read together (Friedland and Truesdell 2004).

Due to the social nature of the pedagogic interactions observed during Reading Buddies, it is important to explore sociocultural learning theories.

3.3 Socio-cultural learning theory

Vygotsky, an early twentieth century Russian psychologist, believed that learning is a sociocultural process. Vygotsky believed that a child's culture and their interactions with others play a significant role in all aspects of development (Schütz 2004, Daniels et al 2007). Vygotsky viewed a child's interactions with a more capable other as key to learning.

Actual developmental levels determined by independent problem solving and the higher level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers.

Vygotsky 1978 page 86

The zone of proximal development (ZPD) is a widely accepted, albeit multifaceted, aspect of Vygotsky's work and influences many classroom practices today (Blake and Pope 2008, Daniels et al 2007). It is within the ZPD that scientific concepts and everyday concepts can come together to serve a developmental process (Daniels 2001). In his writing about the ZPD, it seems that Vygotsky(1978) suggests that the ZPD is an attribute of a learner that is relatively fixed within a particular time frame, and interactions with a more capable other move the child or learner towards the upper limit of their particular zone, which the following quote seems to indicate:

We said that in collaboration the child can always do more than he can independently. We must add the stipulation that he cannot do infinitely more. What collaboration contributes to the child's performance is restricted to limits which are determined by the state of his development and his intellectual potential.

(Vygotsky 1987 page 209)

Post Vygotskian applications of the concept of the Zone of Proximal Development within education settings see the ZPD as emergent, with the potential for learning created through the interactions of participants, benefitting all participants, not just the less capable learning from a

more capable other (Wells 1999, Cole and Engestrom 1993). Wertsch (1998) understands learning as resulting from activity and participation in various activities which results in the development of skills. Contrary to this would be learning a skill in isolation, and then applying that skill to complete a task. This application of the ZPD is particularly applicable to this inquiry because in the case of cross age buddies working together to co-construct meaning of English language texts, it might be assumed that the older buddy is the more capable learner, but when consideration is given to sociolinguistic attributes of learners, it is apparent that the interactions are dynamic and complex, with both learners in the supportive role. Vygotsky seems to imply that there is an upper limit to the ZPD, and later applications of his theory (see Cole and Engestrom 1993, and Wells 1998) proposit that the upper limit is unspecified and dependent upon the interactions between individuals and the ways in which those interactions unfold. The social context in which the interactions occur also influences the nature of the exchange. Within a classroom context, the interactions are multifaceted and not necessarily restricted to a dyad between a less and more capable other.

Vygotsky believed that a child's actions and the learning of new skills happened after dialogue and communication with others was internalized and became the self-talk children use to regulate thought and action. Within a classroom, communication with others takes many forms, and the social dynamics can be implicit as well as explicit. Children receive communicative input from the physical structures of the classroom, and printed materials on display. Children interact with one another using oral language as well as body language. The ways in which the teacher and other adults in the classroom talk to and with learners impact the process of language learning.

3.4 Language learning

Current trends in applied linguistics can be attributed to Vygotsky's theories (Jennings 2004). Vygotskian thinking supports a natural, spontaneous and experiential approach to second language learning, and emphasizes the importance of human interaction in second language learning (Schütz 2004).

The increase in the number of children enrolled in public schools who speak a language other than English at home has resulted in an increase in research as to how children learn and use language. One theorist who has had a significant influence on policy development for students learning English in the state of California is Stephen Krashen. In 1981, his work contributed to the theoretical basis for program development for bilingual and second language learners (Krashen 1981). The work of Krashen continues to influence education policy in the state of California, although his theories are being expanded upon to reflect complexities attributed to increased diversity and research in to language learning.

The two primary areas in which the influence of Vygotsky on the work of Krashen can be seen and have relevance to cross age reading buddies are in the Input Hypothesis and the Language Acquisition Hypothesis. Schütz (2004) compares the Input Hypothesis with the concept of the Zone of Proximal Development, showing how both deal with learning that is one step beyond current independent concepts. The Input Hypotheses states that language acquisition takes place during human interaction in which the learner receives input that is one step beyond current stage of linguistic competence. Schütz (2004) also draws the parallel between the area of language and cognitive development happening in natural, real world interactions and experiences between people as described by Vygotsky as well as the Language Acquisition Hypothesis by

Krashen. The interactions between big buddies and little buddies during an authentic sharing of a book during Reading Buddies have the potential for meaningful language exchange and modeling in a supportive atmosphere conducive to a low Affective Filter, another theory put forth by Krashen (1982), which describes the need for an emotionally supportive environment to allow for access to learning without mental or emotional blocks or interference.

With such theories as the starting point, more contemporary writers on the subject of bilingual education, such as Ofelia Garcia (2009) and Colin Baker(2006) advocate for a continuum approach to language, meaning that learners and language acquisition are dynamic and not easily compartmentalized into stages or categories. A significant contribution from this line of thinking which has emerged from research in classrooms in which students operate in more than one language is the theory of translanguaging (Garcia 2009, Li Wei 2011, Garcia and Kleifgen 2010). According to Li Wei (2011)

The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience, and environment, their attitude, beliefs and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and make it into a lived experience (pg 1223)

This description of translanguaging, in which a social space is created where the complex language and sociocultural repertoires of multilingual learners can be, is applicable to this study due to the nature of the interactions observed during Reading Buddies. Lewis, Jones and Baker(2012) explain field research they conducted in which students demonstrate ‘frequent spontaneous translanguaging’, using both of their languages in order to make meaning and perform in the classroom, a phenomenon also observed during the course of this inquiry. Garcia (2009) advises that in order for classrooms to support 21st century multilingual learners,

movement away from compartmentalization of languages and embracing translanguaging is the way to move forward. She explains that in classrooms in which there is much linguistic diversity, it benefits student learning to allow for flexible use of languages to support understanding and concept development as well as linguistic knowledge. Embracing translanguaging represents a paradigm shift in approaches to language learning. Many current language policies tend to take a monolingual position, assuming that multilingual learners have separate language systems and can use each independently of the other (Cummins 2007, Garcia 2009, Baker 2011). Policies have also tended to be subtractive in nature, operating on the assumption that English will take over as the primary language of learners, without regard for the larger impact of this. Current trends are moving away from using language as a noun towards languaging as a verb, a holistic process of making meaning, gaining understanding, and shaping our experiences through language (Swain et al 2009). In this regard, language is not seen as something that a student has but rather it is seen as an expansive, dynamic practice in which a learner continually engages (Daniel and Pacheco 2015). Garcia (2009) states that pedagogies that allow space for translanguaging should build on the actual language practices of multilingual students, something inherent in practices such as Reading Buddies. Increasingly, academic studies are exploring the use of translanguaging by multilingual students to make meaning of English language texts. DiCamilla and Anton (2012) analyzed the ways in which adults learning an additional language rely upon their primary language to scaffold learning. Integrating the use of a child's primary language into reading instruction can aid reading comprehension skills such as vocabulary development and summarizing what has been read (Jiménez et al., 2015). Sayer (2013) explored the ways in which the use of primary language in the classroom can help to access background knowledge. Miller and Rowe (2014) found that

allowing space for translanguaging helps to create bridges between home and school that support student learning and sense of belonging. Souto-Manning and Felderman (2013) advocate for the use of young learners' primary language in the classroom as a means to create an inclusive environment. Viewing multilingual learning on a continuum allows for realizing that translanguaging practices include 1) code-switching, or the strategic use of multiple languages within the same interaction for the purpose of clarifying meaning, 2) directly translating from one language to another, and 3) language brokering, or acting as an interpreter of culturally and linguistically diverse input (Garcia 2009). In this era of high stakes testing that has an emphasis on the development of proficiency with English, one way of supporting young learners could be by creating spaces within the school day to incorporate the use of their primary language, which can be accomplished through such alternative pedagogies as Reading Buddies. The interactions between children and between children and adults within a learning environment, regardless of the language being used to broker the interaction, are complex and contextually situated. In order to better understand these complexities, it is important to explore further the interpersonal relationships within the classroom and the power dynamics that influence them. The work of Bernstein is helpful in this area.

3.5 Applying a Bernsteinian lens

In order to more closely understand the interactions of young learners in a public school classroom in America, it is beneficial to explore certain aspects of the sociology of education as put forth by Basil Bernstein. Of particular importance is the nature of the pedagogic relationships created during Reading Buddies. The learners included in this study have been identified as English Language Learners. The classification of a student as an English Language Learner has the potential to marginalize the young learner within the English dominant school culture. However, applying a Bernsteinian lens to the school experience of these young learners allows for a broader perspective and has the potential to shift the perception from one of finding deficit with the learner, to identifying spaces of conflict or misalignment between the learner, the family, and the school. Singh (2001), in a research project on pedagogic discourse and student resistance in Australian high schools, explores the difficulties Samoan students experience in Australian public school and identifies misalignment between cultural expectations of the Samoan community and family and the expectations and procedures in the school. While this study takes place in Australia and the subjects are high school students, the applicability to this inquiry is in the application of Bernstein's theories to the pedagogic discourse within the school context, and the ways in which the power dynamics and role expectations within a family and community can be in conflict with those of the school, resulting in disengagement of learners. Applying Bernstein's theories also allows for understanding of the power dynamics within pedagogic relationships and interactions and how these can be modified to create space for authentic engagement in literacy practices for students learning English as an additional language.

Bernstein identifies two distinct, yet related elements of schooling

....that complex of behavior and activities in the school which is to do with conduct, character and manner the *expressive order* of the school, and that complex of behavior , and the activities which generate it, which is to do with the acquisition of specific skills the *instrumental order*.

Bernstein (1975 page 34. Italics original)

Interestingly, and applicable in this era of high stakes testing and accountability, Bernstein explains that the more focused a school is on the instrumental order, the more divisive the social or expressive order can become. The emphasis on testing and standards has the potential to disrupt the social order of a school. While Bernstein was concerned with social class and the role it plays within the engagement of pupils in school, it seems that cultural differences and familial expectations not related to social class can also contribute to such discord. Bernstein presents a framework for analyzing student engagement in school that is useful when considering ways to support young learners and their families as they adjust to school in an unfamiliar context. This framework refers to the means and ends of the instrumental and expressive orders of schooling. Bernstein (1975) identified the ends of the instrumental order as the acquisition of academic recognitions or qualifications and the ends of the expressive order as embracing particular values or attitudes, while the means of the orders refers to the practices and procedures employed to move towards the ends. When a family and student understand the means and accept the ends of schooling, there tends to be greater involvement (Donnelly 2016). Given the diversity of the student population at Parkwood, and the varied experiences with schooling families have from their home countries, the level of precision afforded through the application of this theory is helpful in identifying a student's initial engagement with school and the areas in which there may be disagreement and misunderstanding. Bernstein(1975) tells us that the means of schooling include the pedagogic relationships, pacing of curriculum and acquisition, as well as appropriate conduct, character and manner of different members of the school community. For

example, students have to learn what it means to be a student in a particular context, and what the role of the teacher encompasses within that context. The application of this framework seems to provide the opportunity to modify the status quo to meet the needs of diverse learners, and the ways in which the school responds to misalignments can greatly impact family involvement.

In his theory of consensus and disaffection in education, Bernstein examines student engagement in the instrumental and expressive orders of school and identifies five types of involvement and how students define their own role within the school (Bernstein 1975). These are not necessarily dependent upon the family, but are shaped by the school. The five types of student role involvements are not a continuum, and a student can form one role that is maintained or his/her role can change over time. What happens within the school influences a student's role. This is particularly important to consider when thinking about the ways in which students whose language and culture differ from the main culture of the school. The ways in which the child is legitimated and supported within the day to day procedures of the school greatly impact the role he or she embodies.

Briefly, the roles identified by Bernstein (1975) are summarized in the table below.

Role	Instrumental Order	Expressive Order
Commitment	Accepts and strongly involved	Accepts and strongly involved
Detachment	Involved	Cool or negative towards
Deferment	Deferring commitment or involvement	Deferring commitment or involvement
Estrangement	Involved in the ends of the instrumental order but cannot manage the means or learning	Highly involved in the expressive order – joins willingly in school activities
Alienation	Does not understand and rejects instrumental order	Does not understand and rejects expressive order

Table 4: Student roles/involvement in school

This way of considering engagement is applicable to a child's role within school and can also be applied to the child's role within the family (Bernstein 1975). It could be possible for a student to be in a role of commitment to familial aspirations regarding the instrumental and expressive orders of schooling as understood by the sociocultural experiences of the family, but being the first in the family to attend school in a different country may result in a different role commitment within the actual school. It is the reaction of the school and the ways in which the student, and the family, are oriented and supported that can potentially make a difference for the learner. The relationship between teacher and student has important implications in the school experience, as does the boundaries between content.

Relationships in pedagogic contexts were important to Bernstein's theory on the classification and framing of educational knowledge (1975). Classification refers to the relationship between contents, or the boundaries that are maintained between content. When classification is weak, the insulation or boundary between contents becomes blurred (Bernstein 1975).

Bernstein referred to the pedagogic relationship between teacher and taught as frame. The concept of frame

refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship.

(Bernstein 1975 page 89 italics original)

Bernstein talks about strong and weak frames referring to the nature of the relationships between contents and within contexts. He is not referring to actual content, but rather the ways in which the relationships and boundaries can be controlled. Power is inherent in classification and framing of educational knowledge and the ways in which boundaries are manipulated create spaces within which learners can be supported or marginalized.

The English Language Arts standards and the expectations for reading they outline have shifted away from the strong classification and framing found in the Reading First Initiative, in which discreet skills needed for reading were taught and assessed in isolation, towards a weaker frame in which aspects of literacy are more integrated, with the view that reading is a more complex process with interdisciplinary applications and a more horizontal orientation (Chen and Derewianka 2009). The standards also set the expectation that students will engage in deep and meaningful conversations about a variety of literary genres, interacting with complex texts in a variety of subjects with teachers and peers (Achieve 2013).

In California, there seems to be a significant shift in the language of implementation of the standards during the time of this study. Historically, the guidelines for teaching children who speak languages other than English at home has come across as more of subtractive bilingualism, in that the focus was exclusively on the development of English language skills. Subtractive bilingualism results when a child supplants their first language with the second language, in this

case English. This can happen when one language is valued over another, or where there is a strong expectation and pressure to develop English exclusively, which has been the practice in most public schools in California (Baker 2008, Perez 2010). The language in the implementation guide of the California Common Core State Standards, specifically states that additive bilingualism is the goal of the new standards and the language and cultural resources brought into the classroom by young learners are to be capitalized upon and integrated into lessons (Slowik and Brynolson, 2015). This could be seen as a weakening of the frame of pedagogic discourse in that what is permissible within the pedagogical relationship now includes everyday language and cultural resources introduced by the learner.

3.6 Bringing together Vygotsky and Bernstein

The use of sociocultural learning theory together with Bernstein's theories helps to provide a framework for a more complete depiction of the lived experiences of those involved with this research. Vygotskian thinking allows us to explore the social, interpersonal, and intrapersonal interactions involved in learning, while Bernsteinian thinking allows for a deeper understanding of the socio-institutional dynamics that influence learning (Daniels 2001). These two theoretical frameworks work particularly well together because Vygotsky's emphasis is socio-psychological and seems to leave out the institution, whereas Bernstein seems to miss the intricacies of learning, but embrace the institution and the ways in which power and control impinge upon learning. Using them in a combined way is therefore complimentary, and works to offset their individual limitations. Employing a Bernsteinian analysis allows for recognition of the role of the school in the orientation and engagement of young learners, and the ways in which the school routines and relationships can be strengthened or weakened to support learners more holistically. The interaction of these theories allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the interactions within a classroom, and especially within an alternative pedagogy such as Reading Buddies.

3.7 Conclusion of Literature Review

In many schools in California, there is a large population of students who speak Spanish as well as English. In schools such as Parkwood, in which there are more than 30 languages spoken by students and their families, the integration of cultural and primary language resources brought into the classroom by students is much more complex than in a school environment with two predominant languages.

Reading Buddies presents one opportunity for not only capitalizing on the cultural and linguistic diversity of the students, but is also an opportunity to weaken the classification and framing of pedagogic interactions to support students in using linguistic strengths to co-construct meaning and to build English language literacy and skills identified within the Common Core State Standards. In this era of high-stakes testing and accountability, there seems to be a major focus on test scores, performance, and categorizing learners based on these results. What seems to be getting lost in the midst of all this accountability is the individual learner and his/her strengths and contributions to the classroom.

Capturing the dynamic, social interactions of young learners within a child-centered pedagogic practice such as Reading Buddies is a complex process. The next chapter, Methodology, will provide support for the research design and methods. Understanding the interactions required reflexivity on the part of the adult researcher and the child co-researchers throughout the process of data collection and analysis. The linguistic diversity of the children involved with this study added even more complexity and richness to the data. The Methodology chapter will show that the processes involved with this study were open-ended and occurred within the everyday context of the classroom and school, and adhered to ethical standards. Ethical considerations,

especially when working with young children, are relevant throughout the entire research process, and as such, will be included within the sections of the Methodology chapter as applicable.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Engaging with a child-centered, qualitative approach

The intention of this study was to create a rights based, participatory framework in which to work with children to explore their experiences during Reading Buddies. It was important that the children were aware of their rights to participate, express their thoughts and feelings, and be genuinely heard. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, in particular Article 12 (2006), states that the child has a right to express views freely and to have them taken into account, which reinforces the status of young children as active participants.

It is the intention of this study to work in partnership with children to explore their experiences in the natural school setting, therefore this study is qualitative in nature.

Qualitative research strives for depth of understanding in natural settings. Unlike positivist, quantitative tradition it does not focus on a world in which reality is fixed and measurable but one in which the experiences and perspectives of individuals are socially constructed.

(Greig et al 2007 Page 136)

An assumption made in entering in to this research with children is that they are competent social actors (Qvortrup 1994, Christensen and Prout 2002), who are experts on their own lives and capable of reflecting upon and explaining their involvement in activities. Therefore, the children were seen as partners in the research project, sharing their input to ensure that their perspectives were accurately included, and that the exploration of the data did not rely solely on adult interpretation (Pinter et al 2016). Thomson (2007) feels that participatory research with children has the potential to shift power relations, especially when there is continuous interaction and negotiation between the adults and children involved in the study.

4.2 Employing Ethnographic Methods

The researcher involved in this study was also the classroom teacher for the third-grade classroom, therefore was in the role of participant observer. Delamont and Atkinson (1995) explain that research in and on schools includes participant observation and recordings of everyday happenings in naturally occurring settings. Spindler (1982) explains that ethnographic studies involve the researcher being ‘immersed in the field situation with the researcher as a major instrument of research’ (page 15), which also helps to position the researcher.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) explain that ethnography involves the researcher participating in daily life as it occurs in an everyday context, as opposed to in conditions created by the researcher. They refer to this as being ‘in the field’(page 3). Further, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) explain that the methodological approach or research design employed in ethnography is open ended and begins with an interest in a particular area of social life with data collection being unstructured in that it does not follow a specific predefined research design nor does it preselect categories with which to interpret or analyze data. Therefore, this study took an ethnographic approach to data collection and interpretation. The researcher was the class teacher for the third-grade students, and as such, was overtly involved in the daily activities of the students in the classroom and in out of class activities.

4.3 Access to the field

4.3a The researcher's role in the field and District level gatekeepers

The teacher researcher and author of this study has been a class teacher at Parkwood Elementary most recently since 2008. She has a long history with the school, having worked there initially as a Resource Specialist and Inclusion Specialist for the district department of Special Education from 1998-2003. That she was a student at the University of Bath was a well-known fact and some of her previous coursework had been shared with administrators and colleagues. There were several district level administrators with whom she had completed her Master's degree, so it was relatively easy to approach them to seek approval to carry out this study. The district administration was very clear that the district, school and pupils were not to be identified by name, and the consent to participate forms, as well as University ethics approval, had to be approved by them prior to beginning any site level discussion about the project. The district administrators wanted to be sure that this research was conducted following the ethical standards of the American Education Research Association (AERA), because it was being conducted in the United States. They were assured that the ethical standards from AERA as well as the British Educational Research Association (BERA) standards, with particular focus given to the guidelines for working with children, vulnerable young people and vulnerable adults, were acknowledged and implemented.

Once those stipulations were taken care of, the site principal was approached about the proposed research project. The site principal was newly hired to the district and school at the time this study was to begin, and she was an enthusiastic supporter. There was no risk of physical harm, psychological distress or discomfort to anyone involved in this study. The Reading Buddy sessions took place within a pre-existing structure, and did not involve any sensitive topics.

4.3b Reading Buddies partner teacher

Reading Buddies involves a partnership between two teachers and their classes, so support for the project was also needed from the partner teacher. Reading Buddy partnerships were often assigned by the school principal, and it was fortuitous that the Kindergarten teacher with whom the third-grade teacher was partnered was someone with whom she had been partnered before who shared enthusiasm and curiosity about the Reading Buddy relationships developed between the children. She agreed to allow the research project to be a part of our Reading Buddy year.

4.3c Students, families, and consent

Students are assigned to classes by the previous grade level team at the end of the prior school year. Students are placed in classes so that there is a balance of academic skill level, gender, social/behavior concerns, English Language proficiency, special education learning needs and parent volunteers. The class lists are created without knowing who the specific teacher for the group will be. The school principal assigns a list to a teacher before the school year begins. So the classes at a grade level are considered to be equal. The students assigned to the third-grade class and the Kindergarten class involved in this study were the group from whom the participants were identified.

During the first week of school, the third-grade teacher talked with the students in her class about doing a research project together and began brainstorming ideas with them. It was explained that the subject of the research study would be Reading Buddies, and that the overarching goal might be to figure out exactly what happens during Reading Buddies and how students make sense of English language books and texts when reading with a Buddy.

The researcher talked with each class separately on three occasions during late August and September about the research project, including a significant amount of time about the teacher's role as a student and a researcher. Pictures of the campus and a student identification card were shared. It was important that the children be as clear as possible about the purpose of the research and their roles as co-researchers. It was explained that they were the experts on their own learning and had expert ideas about buddies and learning and the teacher felt it might be important to pay attention to the ways in which they interacted with books and buddies. The consent form was created using pictures and words (see Appendix A) and students could indicate their consent by coloring in a thumbs up or thumbs down graphic. It was explained that students

could change their mind about participation at any time and that the consent forms would be kept on the counter where they could easily access them. It was also explained that everyone would be participating in the same Reading Buddy events whether they wanted to be co-researchers or not. It was also explained that while a parent or guardian's permission was also necessary, the more important voice was their own. . Presentations were made to parents at Back to School Night that explained the nature of the study. Information about the study was distributed for parents to take home. Consent forms were sent home with parents (see Appendices B and C), and the offer was made to translate documents for any family that wanted the information in their language. Students were not shown parent or guardian responses in order to minimize the likelihood of students feeling pressured to respond in the same way as their adult.

Of the 60 families in the two classes, 54 returned a favorable consent form, one declined participation, and five did not return the forms, even with follow up and translation of information. However, 15 of the students – 10 from the Kindergarten class and five from the third-grade class- did not want to participate. Several parents approached the teacher/researcher to explain that their child told them they gave the study a thumbs down and they felt their child did not understand what the form meant and that he/she should be included in the study anyway. The teacher/ researcher made a point to revisit the form with those children to clarify meaning, and it was determined that the children did in fact understand and did not want to participate in the study, therefore, their data was not included despite parent protests and attempts to alter their child's opinion on the subject.

The following table summarizes the timeline for accessing the field for this study.

Date	Participants	Action
July 2015	researcher	Submission and Approval of University Ethics form
August 2015	Researcher District Administrators School Principal Partner teacher	Presentation about and approval of research project idea
Early September 2015	Researcher/ Partner teacher Third Grade Students Kindergarten students	Began planning project
Mid-September	Researcher Parents Students Partner Teacher	*Presentations about research made to parents during Back-to-School night *Class meetings and discussions held with both classes separately to develop ideas for data collection and answer questions
Late-September	Researcher Parents Students Partner Teachers	*Once some ideas were in place, parent information letter was sent home. Consent forms created and distributed (see Appendices) * began to partner students to be Buddies
Early October	Parents, students, teachers	Consent forms returned

Table 5: timeline for accessing the field

Once the broad base of participants was identified, all the children, whether they wanted to participate or not, contributed to discussions about data collection. Article 13 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) states

The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.

4.4 Data Collection

Punch (2002) cautions that even though children are viewed as competent, it is important to use child-friendly methods of data collection. Data collection methods used in this study were decided upon by the children and the researcher working together to test equipment and ideas. Many of the students were eager to use video cameras, but there were quite a few who were not comfortable with the idea. The list of ideas that were considered to be feasible included Go-Pro cameras, small cameras, flip cameras, tape recorders, journals, drawing paper, charts, teacher notes and reading logs. Non-feasible ideas included building a special classroom building only for Reading Buddies so that when we were in there, everyone would know we were “doing Reading Buddies research”, having students wear undercover wires to record themselves, and hiring a Hollywood movie director and cameraman to record Reading Buddies.

4.4aThe role of the researcher/teacher

The issue of the power imbalance inherent in the teacher/student relationship was of concern to the researcher. James (2007) argues that while it is important to acknowledge the imbalance between adult and child, engaging in participatory conversations is also necessary to create a sociocultural space in which the perspective of the child as a competent contributor can be included. Smith (2011) tells us that taking the time to build relationships with children can help to reduce the power imbalance between adults and children, and that children are more likely to engage with openness and honesty if they feel respected and safe. The researcher made a point to explain to the students that she would let them know when she was in the role of learner as opposed to teacher, and if they were unsure, they should ask. It is important to discuss this point with regard to data collection because often, the researcher would sit or attempt to sit with Reading Buddy dyads in order to take field notes, only to have the children stop talking or attempt to have the teacher take over the interaction. During these times, it was important for the researcher to be reflexive and consider the cause and effect of the situation, and how her actions were influencing not only the children but the data as well. Being in the dual roles of teacher and researcher was complicated, and the researcher had to continually monitor her own motivations, for example, she would sometimes question her reason for sitting close to a dyad. It could be a balancing act to distinguish between the teacher instinct to use proximity control to maintain order and monitor on-task behavior, and the need to be within close proximity for purposes of data collection. Being open with the students as to her role at a given time was helpful in maintaining transparency and working towards balancing power and control. Interestingly, on one occasion, one of the children asked specifically if the teacher was “being a teacher or a learner” and went on to explain “ I hope you are being a teacher cuz I need a teacher’s help right

now”. Other students overheard this exchange and would use similar expressions to help clarify roles and needs during Reading Buddies. There were some students who, although they had indicated consent to participation, had a difficult time engaging in the process. Being the classroom teacher provided the opportunity for the teacher to develop trusting relationships with the students and their families throughout the school year. The nature of being a class teacher at a school such as Parkwood, that assumes a partnership between the family and the school staff, and encourages students to be active participants in their learning, could have had a significant impact on the teacher/researcher’s relationship with the students. Another assumption that could have impacted the interactions in this study is the degree of flexibility of time usage within the instructional day. The teachers at Parkwood have the ability to schedule instructional time to meet the needs of learners, therefore there is a degree of flexibility within the daily routines that enabled the creation of space in which to engage in reflexive conversations with students and reflexive pedagogic practices.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) explain that the nature of ethnographic research means that data will usually be collected in unstructured ways and that it is not always clear when observations begin and where attention should be focused, therefore strategies evolve as the process unfolds. As the researcher and the students worked together to decide how to collect data, it became clear that variety in methods would be best. Using multiple sources of data in qualitative research also allows for triangulation, and adds depth to assist in highlighting patterns and findings (Hubbard and Power 2003).

4.4.1 Use of Video equipment

The results of this collaboration were that data collection methods included video recordings of Reading Buddy sessions – several Go Pro cameras were used, as well as several 2inch by 1 inch ‘Nanny cams’, that could be discreetly placed on the table or shelf. The students were particularly excited about the small cameras because they felt they would not be a distraction. The third-grade students seemed to enjoy making hiding places for the miniature cameras using empty crayon boxes and post-it note origami boxes, to name a few. Many of the Kindergarten students did not seem to notice or be interested in the cameras, but one student in particular seemed to enjoy hiding the small cameras for the researcher to find.

Robson (2011) explains that the use of video recorders as data collection tools in research with young children is not new, but it is not widely used as a means for children to reflect upon their own interpretations and analysis of the content. Thomson (2008) describes the use of video data with children to be particularly useful given the frequency at which they are consumers of images, and the amount of time children seem to spend watching television and videos, and making meaning from those sources of input. A study by Anderson (2001) revealed that children pay close attention and can recall images from television very well. Robson (2011) found that the young children in her study who were video recorded playing at their school and then asked to talk about their experience while watching the video with the researcher were able to recall details and share their expertise on the interactions, as well as reflective comments on their own participation and that of others in the video clip.

4.4.1a Anonymity and safe storage of video data

One tenant of participation in the study was that of anonymity. The children, school, and district were identified by pseudonyms within the research, but video data has the potential to very clearly make children and locations identifiable. The researcher made it very clear that the videos would only be viewed by the researcher and the children visible in the video. The videos were transferred from the cameras to the researcher's laptop where they will be stored until the research project is finished. The laptop is password protected, and the video files are stored within a multilevel organization system that would not be easily discovered by someone other than the researcher.

4.4.1b Strengths and limitations of video equipment

One surprising obstacle that arose from the use of the GoPro cameras was the acuity of the audio meant that all the conversations and noises in the room were recorded equally, making it difficult to discern individual conversations. When viewing the initial GoPro videos with the third-grade class, several asked for the sound to be muted because it was too loud, while others tried to discern their own conversations from the cacophony. Once the children began to work in different spaces in smaller groupings, the use of the GoPro cameras was more effective. There was also one hand held video recorder that was mounted on a tripod and placed near the teaching table in the third-grade classroom. This camera was housed in this area of the third-grade classroom whether it was in use or not. Students expressed interest in being able to video tape not only reading buddy sessions, but also record themselves preparing for buddies or reflecting about buddies, therefore, four hand held flip video recorders were readily accessible for students to video journal about their Reading Buddy experiences. Students could, at any time, ask to not be videotaped. Students could remove or relocate a camera, or request that the camera be turned off or moved elsewhere. On several occasions, cameras had dead batteries or the memory card reached capacity during recording, so this limited recording of data, and other sources of data collection needed to be used.

4.4.2 Non video data collection methods

Students were also given a Reading Buddy journal in which to write or draw with their buddy or to reflect upon Reading Buddy sessions. Audio recorders were used a few times, but when reviewing the recordings with the students, they expressed that it was difficult to remember what happened just by listening to themselves. The students acted as co-researchers in making decisions about the types of data collection that would be useful when reflecting upon reading buddy events. It was mutually determined that having video and audio feedback was more beneficial than just having voice recordings, so the audio recorders were discarded.

Students had open access to drawing paper and coloring instruments and were free to draw pictures about Reading Buddies sessions. It was felt that the variety of data collection methods were child-friendly, especially considering that the students were actively involved in testing equipment and deciding what worked best.

The methodology comprised a participant-observer in a dynamic relationship with children as co-researchers. Understanding was co-constructed, relying on the social nature of dialogue, the use of multiple media, and reflexive practices on the part of the child and adult researchers.

When there was a need to translate dialogue, multilingual friends of the researcher volunteered to help, or translators who worked for the district were sometimes asked to help. The district was willing to provide translators if the interaction was between the teacher and a parent, and if the content of the conversation could also be relevant to classroom performance, and not just for purposes of this study. Most often, students from both classes who spoke the same language would work together to try to translate for the researcher, or they would seek out an older sibling

or friend to come help during recess, lunch or after school. During these exchanges, the researcher and the students would engage in a cycle of questioning and explaining, in which all participants asked questions and provided feedback in attempt to assure that meaning was mutually understood.

The key methods of data collection used for this study were video recordings of Reading Buddy sessions and student reflections recorded using 3 GoPro cameras, 2 Nanny Cams, 4 handheld flip video recorders; Reading Buddy journals (composition notebooks); index cards, drawing paper, chart paper, observations recorded in field notes, conversations recorded in field notes, and reflective dialogue, also recorded in field notes. Unstructured interviews with parents were also conducted. Some of these interviews happened in the classroom after school and some took place on the playground while the researcher and parent watched the children playing. Information shared during formal parent/teacher conferences was also included, with the permission of the parents.

4.5 The Reading Buddy program

The teachers decided which children would be partnered as Reading Buddies based on languages spoken, gender, perceived academic levels, and social skills. Students were given a puzzle piece with their own name written on it and during the first meeting of Reading Buddies in October of 2015, students were to find their buddy by finding the student with an interlocking puzzle piece. Third graders were given a red cloth bag to use to organize materials needed for Reading Buddies. The bag had a small pocket to hold pencils, crayons, scissors and glue and a larger pocket for a Reading Buddy journal and books.

Reading buddies met weekly, on Tuesdays after lunch, starting in October 2015, for 30 - 40 minutes. For the first four weeks, we all met together in Room A, the Kindergarten classroom. 60 students, two teachers and two or three parent helpers meant a very crowded space, and utilizing the outdoor space was valuable but presented challenges to availability to observe and record interactions. The use of the recording devices seemed to be a distraction in the Kindergarten classroom, with the younger children exercising their right to turn the cameras on and off and move them around the room taking up a lot of the time. One student seemed to enjoy hiding the cameras for the researcher to find. Some students did not like the cameras near them and would stop talking and interacting if a camera was placed near them, or if an adult came in close proximity.

During weeks five, six and seven, we tried splitting the group between the two classrooms, which meant a longer transition time due to the distance between the two classrooms. We would then spend time determining who was absent and needed a substitute buddy, and who would be working in the third-grade classroom that day. The Kindergarten students were very eager to

get to go to the third-grade classroom, and this aspect of the Reading Buddy time took on a power of its own. In order to counter this, the children were split into groups of 20 and each group had a time to work in the third-grade classroom, on a predictable, published schedule. There was also the issue of videotaping in both rooms. The third-grade class had a regular parent volunteer during reading buddy time, and this parent volunteered to stay in the Kindergarten room and monitor the cameras. These three weeks proved to be very stressful and the data collected during this time was fragmented and seemed more focused on management than actual interactions with text for many of the children.

Dyads of interest were beginning to emerge, and it was decided that after the winter break, it would be time to focus in on a smaller number of students. During week 8, after the break, the partner teachers met to begin to make decisions about how to proceed. The third-grade teacher also held class meetings to solicit feedback from the third-grade Big Buddies. The students felt that they would like to have their own special buddy spot to meet, and changing classrooms was fun but it was also hard. It was decided that the parent volunteers would stay in the Kindergarten room, as the majority of the children would be there, and there was more access to outdoor space, which some of the students enjoyed using, but there was a need for supervision for safety purposes. A group of 15 students were identified by the researcher to be her primary focus for data collection, thus narrowing the field of participants from 39 to 15. The students were not told the group had been identified and data was continually collected in the same ways for all 39 participants.

There were 15 students in the focus group, an odd number because one of the groups included one third-grader with two kindergarten buddies. Narrowing the focus proved to be a big stress reducer, even though it was felt that all the interactions were meaningful, and each voice was

important to include, but, it was realized that it was time to start identifying cases to include in writing. Due to the area of interest for the study being students acquiring English as an additional language, students who were classified as English only were not included in the focus group, although their input, and that of all students, was sought and included in discussions. Limiting the study in this way could have impacted the outcome as leaving out data generated by students not included that could have provided different insights than those focused on in this study.

Working in the third-grade room continued to be desirable for many of the children, so each time the group split between the two classrooms, up to six students (3 dyads) not in the focus group would also transition between classrooms. The composition of these six changed weekly. After reviewing the video and field note data collected up to that point, patterns of participation began to emerge. The majority of the students reported that they enjoyed buddies and had a similar structure to their interactions, which included using strategies that were similar to the taught lessons in guided reading and literacy circle groups. Many dyads were creating games, making up their own stories to match the pictures, pointing to text and following an “I read it, we read it, you read it” pattern to interacting with the texts. Some of the students were primarily using English as the language of interaction, regardless of additional languages in their oral language repertoires.

Third-grade students were responsible for selecting the books to share with their Kindergarten buddy. They could choose from the classroom library, or from a bin of books designated as Reading Buddy Books. The books in this bin consisted of fiction picture books, nonfiction picture books, controlled text phonics based readers, wordless picture books, levelled readers printed from the RAZ kids reading website (www.raz-kids.com). Students in the Kindergarten

class often had Scholastic News magazines to share with buddies (www.scholasticnews.com) , and they had access to the classroom library and individual book boxes with books at their particular reading level to share. The buddy classes would participate in theme related craft activities about once every 6 weeks, in which dyads were given printed directions and open access to materials and supplies in order to complete the project together.

The third-grade teacher/researcher would meet with students weekly to talk about buddies and review videos together. Sometimes, videos were watched and discussed with one member of the dyad and more frequently, both buddies watched and discussed the video recordings with the researcher and a translator if necessary. This watching of videos often happened during the Tuesday afternoon Reading Buddy sessions, or a different time was found during the week that did not interfere with content learning, such as recess or lunch. Conversations were transcribed in field notes. Students could video journal at any time and it was understood that the teacher would see the video journal entries when they were transferred from the camera to a laptop. Student's buddy journals were also discussed and frequently, third-grade buddies brought the teachers pictures created in buddies or shared journal entries. When this happened, the researcher made a point to discuss the artefact with the students to clearly understand its significance. It was common for third-grade buddies to consult the teacher with ideas and concerns about books for buddies, behavior concerns or feelings experienced. Kindergarten students would also share their thoughts about buddies and ideas they had for activities to include in buddies, often running up to the third-grade teacher when she was on the play yard for yard duty, or in the cafeteria during lunch.

Reading Buddies ended in May of 2016. In total, Reading Buddies met 22 times during the 2015-2016 school year.

4.6 Data Analysis

As this study employed ethnographic methods, there was no set structure for data collection, and data analysis was ongoing. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) describe data analysis in ethnography as an integrated aspect of the process as opposed to being a distinct stage of the research. As the data were collected throughout Reading Buddies, the researcher and co-researchers engaged in reflexive conversations, from which ideas were generated that in turn impacted the next Reading Buddy session and subsequent data collected. Data collection and data analysis were ongoing and at times seemed chaotic and overwhelming. The researcher made a point to reflect upon the type of

data being collected and how that data might be useful in addressing the overarching research questions. Students were observed and notes taken within the Reading Buddy sessions as well as times during the week when third-graders were preparing for Reading Buddies. There was also an interactive chart hanging in the classroom where students could write their thoughts (see figure 13).

The researcher used a notebook as well as her laptop to take notes. Videos were transcribed weekly, and reflective conversations about the videos were transcribed as they

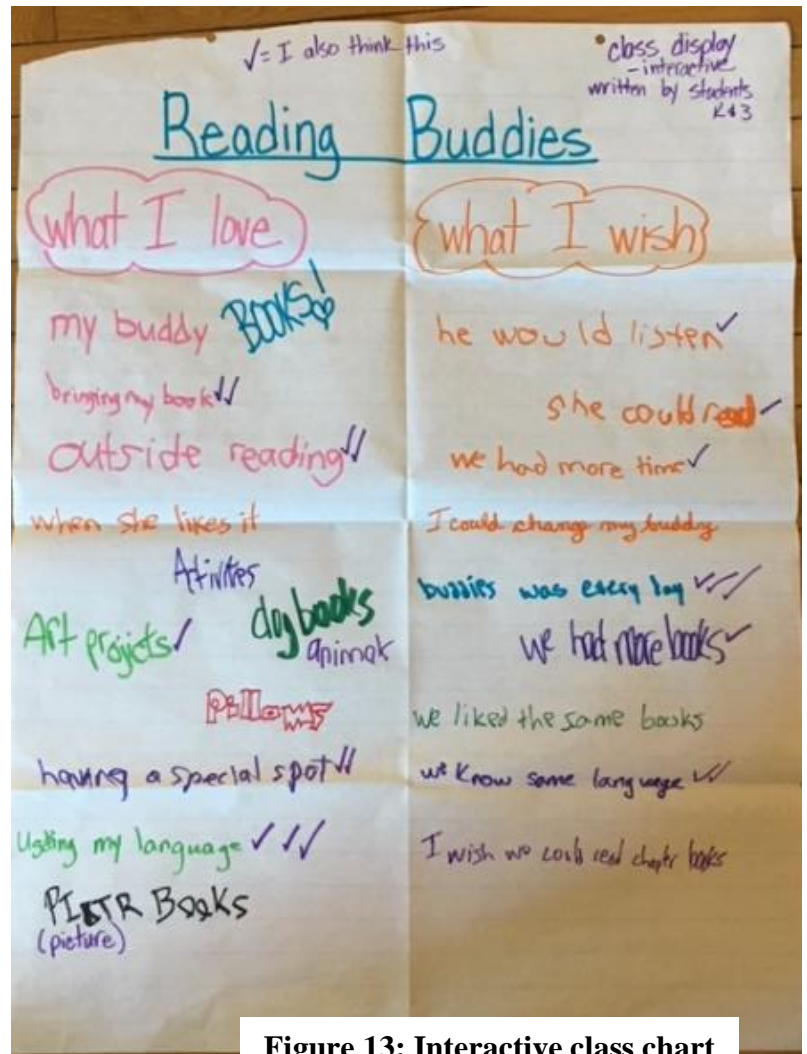


Figure 13: Interactive class chart

were happening. The constant engagement with the data helped to ensure that the data was trustworthy and valid and an accurate depiction of experiences during Reading Buddies (Hubbard and Power 2003).

In the spring of 2016, the researcher held class meetings with the third-graders and the kindergarteners, separately, simply because of the number of children involved and the desire to be able to interact and record effectively. The groups regularly held class meetings, so the process was known and students had experience engaging in a class meeting discussion. The purpose of the class meeting was to reflect upon Reading Buddies and what kinds of things worked during Buddies and what

didn't work. The groups brainstormed ideas and shared their thinking, and all ideas were recorded on chart paper.

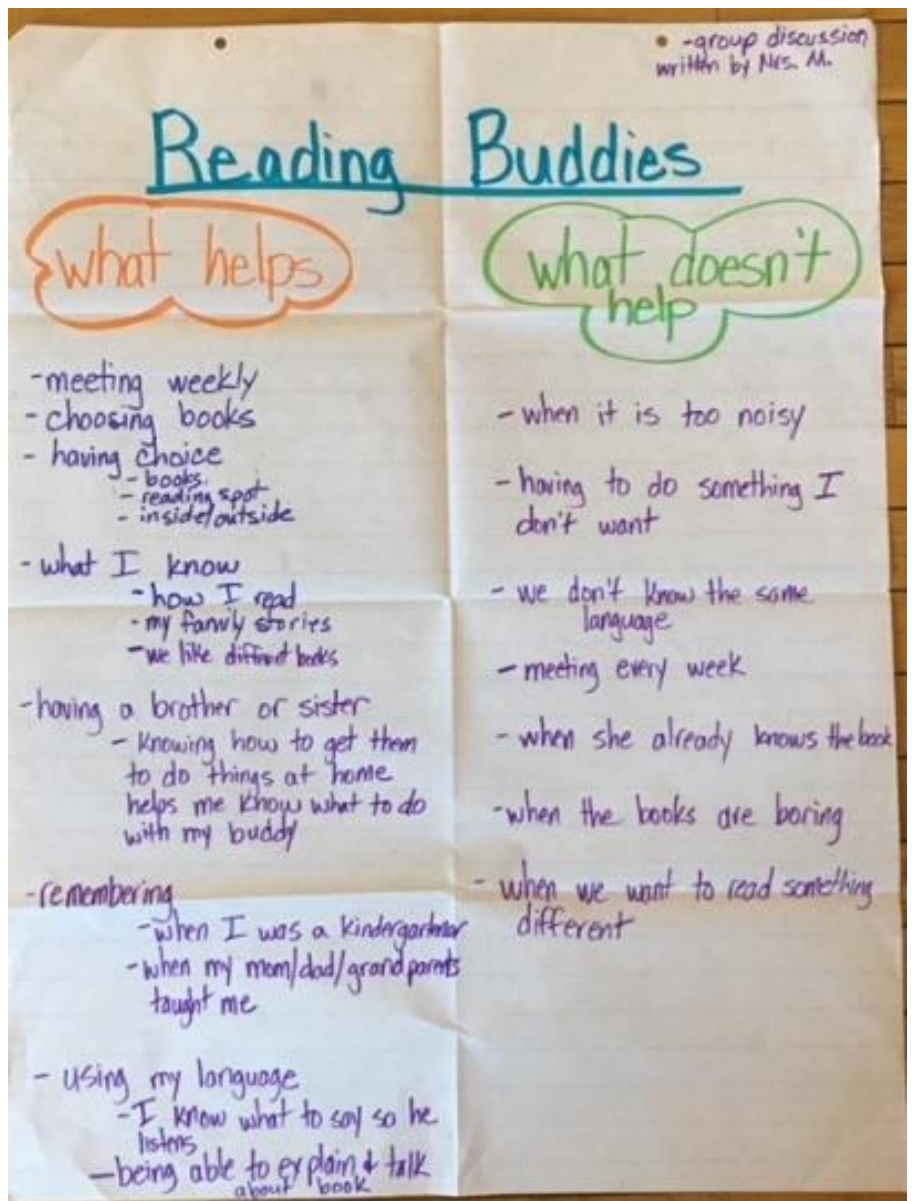


Figure 14: Brainstorm chart recorded by teacher

Students then had the option to continue to brainstorm or reflect more deeply using their person journals. The charts were displayed in the classrooms for a few days, and students were observed to stand in small groups and read the charts and discuss them.

The following week, the researcher had smaller group meetings with Reading Buddy dyads that included about 16 students at a time. One such group included the 15 students identified by the researcher as the focus group for the study. As the groups talked about Reading Buddies and things that worked or didn't work for them, the researcher began to identify categories of strategies. She was careful to try not to impose her own interpretations on the data generated by the students. The categories helped to describe the supports, processes and strategies used by the young learners as they interacted with English language texts during Reading Buddies. Figure 15, co-constructed with the students represents how dynamic the influences experienced by the children seem.

In their descriptions about how adults, peers, the environment and various resources influenced them during Reading Buddies, commonalities began to emerge.

The two most common themes that emerged included using more than just English to make sense of the text, and various kinds of play including word games, role play, singing and chanting, often copied from activities engaged in with family members.

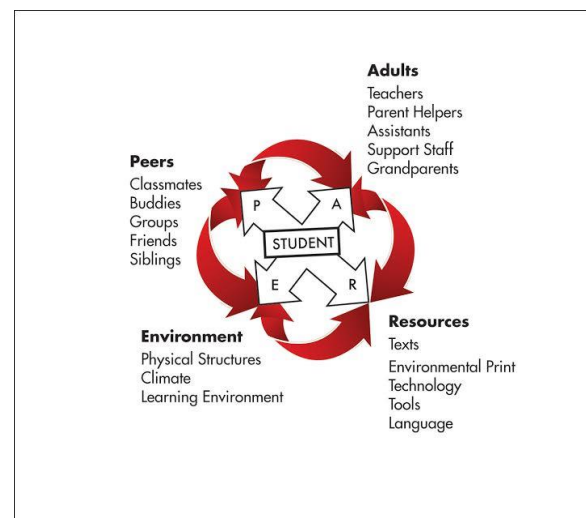


Figure 15: Influences on Reading Buddies

With this in mind, the researcher then went back to the data and began to find evidence of such activities represented within. The cases that were selected were critical cases of the phenomena identified in the wider data analysis. This helped to identify the specific cases included in this study. The data that showed the use of multiple languages within the student interactions helped to identify Ichigo and Sophia for inclusion in the study. Additionally, the ways in which Ichigo and Sophia incorporated play in their interactions, including the ways in which they included the teacher in their play contributed significantly to selecting their case to explore in more depth in this study. Jasmin and Cheeku were selected for inclusion in the study because of the ways in which play and role play were utilized by the girls in their interactions with text- which was a unique and significant insight into learning identified from the research. Interviews with family members also indicated that play was an important part of the girls' interactions with English texts in the home environment as well. Agent and Skywalker were selected for participation due to the amount of quality video and reflective conversations recorded that demonstrated a depth of interaction with each other and with English texts.

Some dyads were excluded from the study due to the complicated nature of their consent to participate. It became too cumbersome to try to match video data with the specific dates several students consented to participate. These particular children changed their minds and their consent forms multiple times throughout the study time frame. The triad was excluded from the study because even though they shared home languages, their interactions were almost exclusively in English, and followed a predictable pattern in that the third grade buddy had a schedule for the reading buddy time and she followed it precisely. There was a fourth dyad that I hoped to include in the study, but the Kindergarten buddy and his family moved out of the area

in late April and it was felt that it would be too difficult to have follow up conversations and review video data together at length given the relocation.

In narrowing the focus to three dyads, the researcher was able to study the interaction in more depth, and have more time available to continually engage in reflective conversations with the six children during the last month of the 2015-2016 school year.

4.7 The selected cases

The cases that were selected were students acquiring English as an additional language. They had varying degrees of proficiency with listening, speaking, reading and writing skill in English. All of them were the first generation in their family to attend elementary school in the United States, and their families came from different countries around the world. The purpose of the relocation to the United States varied, as was their projected length of stay. It was felt that the life circumstances of these students were somewhat representative of the student population identified as English Language Learners currently enrolling in public schools within Silicon Valley. These dyads were selected because of the nature of their interactions with each other and with English language texts. The processes employed by these young learners to interact with English language texts seemed to provide insight to different strategies spontaneously utilized by young learners to make meaning. It was felt that the data generated during their Reading Buddy sessions was in line with the themes that emerged from analysis of the group discussion about what worked and didn't work during Reading Buddies. The next three chapters will provide detailed accounts of these young learners. Chapter 4 will introduce Jasmin and Cheeku. Jasmin and Cheeku might be considered to be at risk of being the most marginalized learners included in this study due to their socioeconomic circumstances and the orientation of their families towards the means and ends of the regulative and instrumental orders of Parkwood School. However, applying the work of Bernstein allows a shift in focus from a deficiency model towards a focus on social interactions and areas of potential misunderstanding that can be addressed within the system to support them. Jasmin and Cheeku engage in various means of play as they engage with English language texts during Reading Buddies.

Chapter 5 will introduce Sophia and Ichigo, bilingual learners from Japan, who seem to actively engage both Japanese and English to make meaning of English texts. The ways in which these young learners use language when given the space to do so brings to fore the need to embrace the linguistic diversity brought into the classroom by the children of transnational professionals.

Chapter 6 presents the case of Agent and Skywalker. Agent presents as a disruptive child who is struggling to adapt to the expectations of being a student in an American public school. The ways in which his Big Buddy, Skywalker, manipulates the classification and framing of their pedagogic relationship demonstrates how space can be created to negotiate power, control and meaning during Reading Buddies.

The biographical data of each learner is included in these chapters because it is important to provide a holistic representation of each individual and the experiences and realities that have influenced their development as learners. Having information regarding the linguistic repertoire, literacy development history and sociocultural contexts of a young learner may provide insight into the learner and the strategies each finds meaningful and empowering.

Chapter 5: “ I gonna be a teacher...”

The integration of play in literacy learning: Cheeku and Jasmin

Cheeku and Jasmin had both been classified at the beginning level of English Language Development based on the results of their performance on the reading, writing, speaking and listening sections of the California English Language Development Test (CELDT) at the beginning of the 2015-2016 school year. The CELDT is an annual assessment mandated by the state of California for all students whose registration paperwork indicates that a language other than English is spoken in the home. The skills assessed include reading, writing, speaking and listening in English. Students' skills with listening, speaking, reading and writing in their home language are not assessed. Cheeku and Jasmin were partnered as buddies because they were both also at a beginning level with reading English text as measured by knowledge of the alphabet, print/code system and ability to decode printed words. According to the *Fountas and Pinnell Benchmark Assessment System* used throughout the school district to assess reading levels, both girls were below level A at the beginning of the school year, indicating literacy skills at a preschool level. The assessment data regarding their skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing in English could possibly indicate that both girls were at an educational disadvantage. Reading at Parkwood is a monolingual experience with the goal being to teach children to listen, speak, read and write English at a proficient level according to the Common Core English Language Arts standards. A sociocultural perspective embraces literacy development in these areas as an interactive process that occurs both inside and outside of the school context (Davidson 2010), therefore, having insight into the diverse backgrounds of young learners is an important consideration if the goal is truly literacy development. Mainstream instructional practices that do not take into consideration the skills and understanding that

children bring into the classroom run the risk of underserving learners from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Finnegan 1999).

Jasmin and Cheeku are both among the first in their families to attend public school in the United States, which could possibly mean that their families are not familiar with the instrumental and expressive orders of the school, as defined by Bernstein (1975). The instrumental order of the school refers to the social structures, activities, routines and procedures that have to do with formal learning, whereas the expressive order refers to the behavioral expectations, or character training embedded within the routines and expectations of the school.

Both families are relative newcomers to the United States, and are from countries and cultures that may operationalize the concepts embedded within the philosophy and mission statement of the school differently. They both also demonstrate limited understanding of the language of instruction of the school, and the primary language spoken in the home is one other than English, possibly creating the potential for marginalization and exclusion from the mainstream activities of the school (Baker 2001). In this regard, Jasmin could have somewhat of an educational advantage over Cheeku, because Spanish language translations of most district and school documents and some curricular materials are available, due to the high percentage of families that speak Spanish living within the district. This is not the case for Marathi, which is Cheeku's primary language. However, Cheeku's parents spoke and read English, as it was widely used in their home country of India, whereas Jasmin's mother did not have strong speaking, writing, and reading skills in English.

These two young learners are included in this study for different reasons. Jasmin is from an economically disadvantaged Spanish speaking family. Her engagement in Reading Buddies seems to show that creating a space in which she could assume a leadership role and work with a

younger student to engage in literacy based activities in English provided support for her own learning and sense of self as a learner. Cheeku, on the other hand, is a migrant child from India, a population of people that is rapidly growing in number in the Valley due to expansion in the technology industries. The opportunity to observe her during Reading Buddies and have conversations with her family provides insight into strategies this young learner uses to possibly build a bridge between familial expectations about education and the public school program at Parkwood.

The following sections present detailed biographical information about both Jasmin and Cheeku that aim to include insights to the social, historical and cultural contexts in which the girls have grown up because from the sociocultural perspective, all of these impact literacy development (Vygotsky 1978, Davidson 2010). Au (2000) stresses the importance of the influences of familial and cultural communities, especially for students with diverse backgrounds, with regard to literacy development and the provision of equality in education. As this study aims to explore Reading Buddies as an empowering pedagogy for young English Language Learners, the influence of the background of the students is seen as a significant contributing factor to the shaping of the pedagogic interactions. According to Vygotsky, development occurs when socially shared activities become internalized, and the family is the first social network of the child, therefore the early interactions and experiences that have influenced the child's development and understanding of interacting with written texts contributes to how the child approaches learning to read within the school context (Davidson 2010, John, Steiner & Mahn 1996).

5.1 Sociocultural background information for Cheeku

Cheeku, a shy 5-year-old girl from Nashik, Pune, India, moved to California in March of 2015. Cheeku lives in a small apartment in an apartment complex close to the school with her mother, father and older sister. The complex is one of the least expensive in the area and is home to a large population of families from India. She was in Kindergarten at Parkwood Elementary during the time of this study. The family reports Marathi as their primary language. Cheeku had a good attendance record and always came to school clean and neatly dressed with her hair styled away from her face. The family relocated to California for Dad's work as a software engineer consultant for a high-tech company. Technology companies that hire engineers, computer programmers and other technically skilled workers from outside of the United States, must provide a specific visa for such hires (Darling-Hammond 2010). The number of such visas available each year is often not enough to meet the employment needs of the high tech companies, so the companies participate in a lottery to see how many visas each will be allocated (Kamat et al 2004). The workers applying for these jobs from countries such as India, also participate in a lottery system to be selected as eligible for an employment visa, according to Cheeku's mother. That the family had 'won the lottery twice' and relocated to Silicon Valley was a much celebrated event for the family and extended family, according to Cheeku's mother.

Cheeku was 4 years old at the time of the family's relocation. Prior to coming to the United States, Cheeku attended preschool in India. The preschool instruction was primarily in Hindi, the family's second language, with some English used as well. The family's primary language, Marathi, was not spoken in the preschool. Cheeku's mother explained that the family speaks and understands three languages, and she and her husband can read all three. Both girls have some level of oral proficiency in all three languages, and are learning to read and write in English, now

that the family is living in California. Cheeku's family seems to value education and has taken steps toward multilingual proficiency, habituating Cheeku and her sister to the use of multiple languages for personal and academic purposes. Cheeku's older sister, who is in 5th grade at Parkwood, and was 9 years old at the time of the move, came with her mother to interviews to act as a translator, if needed. Although her father was rarely seen at school functions, conferences or interviews, his interest in his children's education was evident in the explanations of his expectations given by his wife and eldest daughter during interviews.

Cheeku's mother spoke in short English sentences, sometimes responding with one or two words and seemed able to understand most of the conversation, asking in Marathi for her daughter to help clarify her own comments on several occasions, but never asking for clarification of interviewer questions or comments. Her mother reported that Cheeku was walking and talking at 9 months of age, eager to keep up with her older sister. Cheeku's father attended College in India, where he studied as a software engineer. Her mother attended some College courses, and only worked for a short time before marrying Cheeku's father. Cheeku's mother explained that she tells the girls oral stories in Marathi on a regular basis, but does not read to them in Marathi. She said this was true for the time they were living in India and now that they are living in California. It seems that the family has a strong oral literacy practice that could influence the way in which Cheeku approaches literacy activities that involve stories. The family home was described as having only a few books, not a lot, but the books the girls bring home every day were reported to be very important to everyone. Cheeku brings a book bag home from her classroom containing English books at her level that she practices reading with Mom daily. Her mom expressed understanding that developing reading skills in English is one of the primary goals of Kindergarten. The family appears involved in Cheeku's education and seem to care

about her learning. They visit the public library every three weeks. Her older sister explained that their father chooses most of the books for Cheeku, and she isn't permitted to pick her own, which might indicate a misunderstanding of the means of the instrumental order (Bernstein 1975) of reading instruction at Parkwood. The instrumental order encompasses the procedures utilized to develop specific skills. Within the reading instruction practices at Parkwood, children are encouraged to select and interact with books of their own choosing, as a means to not only acquire specific decoding skills utilizing a self-selected, presumably motivating book, but also to encourage participation in talking about books with peers and adults. Children participate in specific instruction on how to self-select a book as a part of the formal reading curriculum. It appears that Cheeku's father is unfamiliar with that expectation as an integral component of the reading curriculum at Parkwood. Mom shared that Cheeku enjoys Bramble and Curious George books, and asks Mom to read and reread them to her while they are at the library or when they come home from school in her book bag. These titles are apparently not often selected by Cheeku's father as her library books. Cheeku's mother explained that she herself can read English and speaks some English because she learned it in school in India. She explained that she is trying to learn more now that the family is living in California, but it is hard for her. She explained that Cheeku's father speaks English more fluently than she does. Cheeku's father was reported to have very strict rules about the girls' participation in academic activities, requiring them to sit at the table after school for several hours each day and work on homework from school, and also workbooks he has purchased online or from local stores. He reviews the workbook progress and homework, giving his daughters feedback on their efforts and requiring them to redo work he determines is not correct. Cheeku's older sister explained that he has always been like that, and she is glad that Cheeku is in school now, so they can work and read

together. This could possibly indicate that prior to starting school, interacting with books was not seen as an integral part of early childhood learning within the family, but rather, the emphasis, as described by Mom, was on oral storytelling.

Upon starting Kindergarten at Parkwood in August of 2015, Cheeku's teacher described her as very shy and reluctant to speak. Her teacher felt that her understanding of English literacy was limited or perhaps it was Cheeku's shyness that prevented her from expressing all she knew. Applying Bernstein's work regarding the sources of consensus and disaffection in education, might provide a different perspective to Cheeku's engagement with her new school environment. Instead of focusing on a deficit within Cheeku's understanding of English, it might be useful to consider that Cheeku could have been in a state of deferment of engagement due to a lack of understanding or awareness of the expectations of her new school. It is important to remember that she is the first member of her family to attend Kindergarten in America, therefore, it is a novel experience not only for Cheeku, but for her family as well. She could be watching and learning before engaging. Her teacher described her as wide eyed, taking everything in, being hesitant to participate, which could be supportive of this. Bernstein stresses the importance of the school's induction procedures and the ways in which students are oriented to the expectations of the classroom and school and the impact such procedures can have on moving students towards participation (Bernstein 2003). Bernstein stresses the importance of the interaction between student, family and school, especially when the culture of the family may be very different than the culture of the school, and given that Cheeku's family recently relocated from India, consideration should be given to the orientation of expectations. Cheeku's teacher reported that she spoke in one or two word English responses, in a very quiet voice. Cheeku was never heard using her primary language at school, not even with her sister. It could be that the

girls thought that they should speak using only English at school, an understandable assumption given the emphasis on English within the instrumental order of the school.

Cheeku's mother does not volunteer in the Kindergarten classroom, even though she has an open invitation to do so, and Parkwood is known for having a high number of parent volunteers active in the classrooms. She explained that she didn't want Cheeku to cling to her or be embarrassed by her accent. She also expressed that the talking happens too quickly for her to understand and she feels overwhelmed in the classroom, because so many people speak at the same time. When asked further about this, she explained that when only the teacher is talking, she understands most of the time, but in the classroom, the children talk, the teacher talks and the parent helpers talk and do different things at the same time, and it is overwhelming for her. Cheeku's mother seemed unfamiliar with the means of instruction typical in Kindergarten classrooms at Parkwood, which include workshop style learning sessions in which children are engaged in learning activities throughout the room, often collaborating with peers and adults through conversation and hands-on activities. When asked to compare Cheeku's classroom with ones she remembers from her own childhood, she expressed that they are very different. In her experience, the teacher talked and the children listened and worked at their desks or tables, not on the floor or around the room, and she recalls it being quiet a lot of the time. She laughed about the differences, and commented that Cheeku was having fun.

Further evidence of Cheeku's father's commitment to her education came about in January of 2016, midway through her Kindergarten year, when he enrolled her in a tutoring program for two sessions a week because he felt she was not learning to read fast enough and her math skills were falling behind where he expected them to be, although Cheeku's report card from her class indicate that she was making progress in all areas of the curriculum. The particular tutoring

program he chose, which was against the advice of her teacher, seems to operate with strong framing and boundaries (Bernstein 1975) involving rote practice with basic math facts and also memorization of word lists. It is a very tutor directed program with repeated practice, positioning the learner in a more passive role, repeating the same skill over and over until mastery is demonstrated on a test of the skill. The program includes daily homework drills between sessions and tests of specific skills taught before students can move up a level. This type of learning environment and expectation are quite different than the environment and expectations at Parkwood, where students are expected to be actively engaged learners who question and apply concepts across content. The Kindergarten program incorporates more informal learning and play based curriculum, which may be in contrast to her parents' belief in more formal lessons in basic skills. Cheeku's teacher expressed concern that the juxtaposition of teaching styles and expectations might cause confusion that would inhibit her overall growth as a student, but her parents felt very strongly that she needed to focus on learning. Bowman and Stott (1994) caution that families, often linguistic and racial minorities, have values, beliefs and behavior patterns that make sense to them and are reflective of their experiences. Having insight into the social, cultural, linguistic and educational experiences Cheeku brings into the classroom could be beneficial to supporting her as a student and as a participant in Reading Buddies.

5.2 Sociocultural background information for Jasmin

Jasmin, an outgoing 9-year-old Spanish speaking female student with Mexican heritage from an economically disadvantaged home, lived with her mother, younger sister, and sometimes her grandparents in a very crowded mobile home park close to the school during the time of this study. The mobile home park where the family lived was the least expensive housing community in the area, and was located just off a busy shopping street and main thoroughfare connecting suburban communities with San Francisco. The housing community was in the process of being closed down during the year of this study, so that the land could be sold and developed. This had a direct impact on Jasmin and her family, as they were forced to relocate during the school year due to the closure. The mobile home park was home to a large, multigenerational predominately Hispanic community, consisting of many related family groups, and many of the family members were alumni of Parkwood. Jasmin's family was not related to anyone else living in the mobile home community, but they appeared to be welcomed warmly into the tightly knit community as evidenced by the close friendships between the resident children while at school and the identification of each other as cousins. Jasmin spent recess and lunch time speaking Spanish and playing with children from her neighborhood. This was a stark contrast to Cheeku, who never spoke her home language at school, even with her sister.

Jasmin had a good attendance record and came to school clean and neatly dressed. Her hair was always styled away from her face, often elaborately curled, braided and tied with ribbons, clips or headbands.

Jasmin was born in a small agricultural town in central California in 2006. The details of her early years are vague, but she reports growing up in Mexico on a farm with her grandparents, her mother and her younger sister. Jasmin did not know much about her father, except that he was

not living with them and she was not sure where he was. Her mother also reported the same details during parent/teacher conferences in September 2015. Jasmin's mother spoke very little English, but explained that she could understand more than she could speak. A translator was requested to help with meetings, and was provided through the school district. This is a contrast to the language support available to Cheeku's family, who relied upon an older sibling to translate if needed. Jasmin's school records indicate that she enrolled in California public school in May of 2014, at the age of eight, with her previous school listed as being in Mexico City. The school in Mexico City did not send any records to Parkwood, nor did Jasmin's family have any copies of school reports. Because of overcrowding at Parkwood Elementary, she was sent to a nearby elementary school for the last two months of second grade, May and June of 2014, her first two months of enrollment in school in California. During the summer, she returned to Mexico, and reenrolled at Parkwood in August of 2014 as a third-grader. At that time, Jasmin reported to her teacher that she never really went to school before because she helped her mother clean houses. Her teacher reported her reading level in English as below Kindergarten and also reported that she did not know the letters of the alphabet. Assessing her literacy skills in Spanish was outside the scope of the program at Parkwood. Her assessment data did not change significantly over the course of that year. Jasmin would spend time in a second grade classroom during literacy block in order to participate in small group instruction closer to her level. She was partnered with a multilingual female student in the second grade classroom who spoke, read and wrote Spanish and English and had oral proficiency in Farsi. Jasmin also received English Language instruction during language lab 45 minutes a day, four days a week with 29 other third-graders identified at the beginning levels of acquiring English. During this time, her oral language skills in English improved, and she demonstrated progress with

letter/sound knowledge and concepts about print. Despite this progress, at the end of the school year, her reading and writing skills in English were measured to be significantly delayed, so it was decided by her classroom teacher, the principal and her mother that she would repeat third-grade. Her younger sister would repeat first grade for the same reasons. Another factor in this decision was a lack of evidence of prior school experience.

Jasmin started the 2015-2016 school year a few days late, due to a delayed return from Mexico. Typically, students who do not show up on the first day of school are dropped from enrollment, but because there were no other third-graders waiting to be placed, and a special request was made for her spot to be held, she was able to join the third-grade class, in which she previously had Language Lab, upon her return to the neighborhood. She was an eager student and very social. She expressed excitement to be in room 20 all the time this year, as opposed to just for the language lab block like last year. It seemed to be advantageous that Jasmin and the teacher had a preexisting relationship. She seemed to use this to her advantage when establishing her presence in the classroom, stating on her first day, “I know teacher. I been here. I know her. I like it.”

Jasmin was repeating third-grade, and the other students were aware of this because many of them knew her from the year before when she was a third-grader visiting their second grade classroom during literacy block. Jasmin was familiar with the classroom space and the routines and expectations of the teacher. This seemed to position her in more of a leadership role within the classroom, because she could model procedures for organizing and sharing materials, and she knew where to find things in the classroom. Jasmin seemed very excited to introduce her mother and her teacher. Jasmin was very social, and enjoyed working with small groups. She seemed very aware of social dynamics within the classroom, paying close attention to classmates and their interactions with each other. Even though she did not always appear to understand the

content of conversations, she was known to comment on tone of voice, volume and gestures used by others, frequently asking, “ why you yell?” “why you point?” “ that no nice”.

Jasmin spoke in two to three word English responses and her Spanish speaking skills appeared to be much stronger. Jasmin was very vocal about preferring Spanish and asked for instructional materials in Spanish, which were provided whenever possible. This is another contrast to Cheeku, who seemed either unsure or unwilling to even say the name of her family language when asked. Parkwood is a monolingual school, with instruction being in English throughout the day. Instructional materials in Spanish are available, because the district has a Spanish bilingual program at another elementary school, but the materials are not integrated into the instructional program at Parkwood. Online instructional resources for math had Spanish student workbook pages and parent letters, which were sent home with Jasmin regularly. The students also had individual accounts with an online reading program that included a library of Spanish books, which was activated in Jasmin’s account. Her mother appeared to be excited to have access to this resource on her cell phone, and was often seen interacting with the girls and the Spanish language books while waiting on campus before and after school. Through a translator, her mother explained that their home was very small so they didn’t have many books, but they do have a small collection of Spanish language picture books they read together at bed time. This could be indicative of Jasmin’s mother’s interest in and support of her daughters’ academic development, as well as her own enjoyment of sharing reading with her daughters, an important component to early childhood literacy development (Mol and Bus 2011, Raikes et al 2006) . She expressed that her daughters enjoyed reading the princess book or books with cute, talking animals, but she couldn’t remember the titles. She seemed very excited by the small collection of Spanish language books available in the classroom and requested that Jasmin be allowed to bring

them home so they could read together. Jasmin's mother appeared genuinely surprised when the class teacher requested that she continue to develop the girls' Spanish language skills. This is possibly due to the predominance of English usage at Parkwood, as well as the state and district emphasis on performance on English language standardized testing. Her daughters were also repeating their grade levels due to their lack of progress with reading, writing, listening and speaking in English. The emphasis on success with English, while in line with national and state education policy, could have the effect of marginalizing minority language groups and cultures, resulting in feelings of being excluded (Green 1997, Baker 2001). In contrast to this, official policy documents on English Language Development in the state of California (Slowik et al 2015) state:

In California, biliteracy is valued and the primary languages that ELs bring to school are considered important resources, valuable in their own right and as a base from which to develop English as an additional language

The teacher may have been the first to express to Jasmin's mother that speaking Spanish was advantageous for her family and teaching her daughters to listen, speak, read and write in Spanish could be of benefit to their English language development as well.

Jasmin's mother did not share information about her own educational experiences, but she was clear in expressing her desire for her daughters to be successful at Parkwood so they could have a better life. Applying Bernstein's (1975) framework as described by Donnelly (2016), Jasmin's mother is expressing her desire for her children to succeed educationally, yet seems unsure of the expressive and instrumental orders of the schooling process. She requested assistance in helping her daughters, and she expressed her anxiety over their living situation.

It is possible in situations like this, with both Jasmin's family and Cheeku's family that the application of Bernstein's theories together with sociocultural learning theory, grounded in the

work of Vygotsky, can make a difference for the children, in shifting the focus from underachievement due to perceived disadvantage (Freire1996), to incongruences between the level of engagement and interaction of families, students and schools. Rogers (2000) calls for educators to engage in reflective practice to create new teaching and learning situations that support equality, social change, and give voice to all learners. The next section will attempt to show that Reading Buddies could be considered empowering pedagogy because it is informing the pedagogic discourse and providing insight into how the boundaries within literacy instruction can be blurred to create a space in which young English Language Learners control the discourse and means of the instrumental order of literacy instruction for one period a week. The strategies used by the children to interact with English language texts, could possibly provide the teachers with insight to students' linguistic repertoires and the cultural and familial assets from which they draw meaning when interacting with each other and with books. Providing such opportunities within the school day could help to not only orient students to the expectations of the school, but also empower them towards engagement in the education process.

5.3 The Buddy Relationship

Jasmin appeared very excited about being a big buddy in reading buddies, with a huge smile on her face as the program was explained. She expressed hope for a Spanish speaking buddy, and was disappointed when there were no Spanish speaking students in the buddy class. The teachers were also very surprised because historically, there have been several Spanish speaking students from Mexican heritage in many of the classes at Parkwood. There was a noticeable decline in enrollment of Spanish speaking students at Parkwood, possibly due to the issues with the closure of the mobile home park within the attendance area. Despite this disappointment, Jasmin expressed her excitement to have a buddy who was also new to English and seemed to take her role very seriously. Jasmin would select her buddy books several days before scheduled meetings and practiced reading them. She would ask for help with them and would seek approval for appropriateness of questions to ask and names of objects in the pictures. She frequently asked for clarification of content, sometimes asking how to say things in Spanish as well as in English. It is interesting that Jasmin more frequently consulted a Spanish speaking classmate for approval and feedback than she did the teacher. The Spanish speaking classmate was the same one with whom she had been partnered the previous year in the second grade classroom, so it could be that the preexisting relationship and shared common language between similar aged peers contributed more to her comfort level in asking for help (Allen 1976).

In her interactions with the class teacher, Jasmin was resistant to working on reading and writing in English, often stating “I don wanna do it”, when asked to participate in guided reading groups. This was concerning for many reasons. One of which that directly relates to this study was the expectation for Reading Buddies during which Jasmin would work with her little buddy to interact with English language texts. Given that her little buddy did not speak Spanish, it was

unclear how Jasmin would react in the actual buddy situation. Jasmin's resistance to participating in reading groups might be attributed to her previous experiences with reading groups within a mainstream classroom, in which she did not experience success or growth, as evidenced by her report cards. This might also be explained through Bernstein's framework of pupil role involvements (1975), in which he explores the orientation of students towards the expressive and instrumental orders of school. It could be that Jasmin is estranged from the instrumental order of the school because it is difficult for her, and her initial year in school was not particularly successful, but she is very involved in the expressive order of the school as evidenced by her active participation in the social dynamics within the classroom and on the play yard, and her enthusiasm for school activities. Her initial involvement in the instrumental order of reading instruction the previous year could have been negatively impacted by an overemphasis on a deficiency with English literacy. It could be that Reading Buddies might play a vital role in inducting Jasmin into the instrumental order of reading instruction at Parkwood.

Jasmin was eager to be a participant in this Reading Buddies study, and was particularly interested in the teacher's role as a student and wanting to know about her and how she interacted with books, as the following conversation documented in field notes in September 2015 shows:

Jasmin: You wanna know me? What I do?

Teacher: Yes, of course! You are the Jasmin expert, not me. You can teach me.

Jasmin: Verdad? Me teacher for you? Me, expert?

Teacher: Si, verdad. I think it is important for me to learn from you.

Jasmin: ok. It is, como se dice? Loco (gesturing with her hands moving around her head)

Teacher: crazy?

Jasmin: si, es crazy, but ok. I do for you. I tell you

In this interaction, the teacher tried to use her limited Spanish as a means of showing respect to Jasmin's first language and to make a personal connection, an important element to relationship building. As Gollop (2000), points out, children are more likely to react openly and with honesty when they feel respected and safe. Gollop(2000) also stresses the importance of the researcher developing skills to minimize the power imbalance between adult and child and to position the child as the expert. To accomplish this rapport, it was necessary to weaken the frame of hierarchical social relations between teacher/student by altering the regulative discourse (Bernstein 2000). The teacher attempted to position herself in the role of learner, while promoting Jasmin as the expert. The teacher was dependent upon Jasmin to share her insights and experiences, which represents a shift in the tradition teacher/pupil roles typical in the classroom environment. As a participant/observer conducting this research, the teacher's role as researcher was hoped to be an opportunity to create space for shifting the power dynamic in order to gain insight in to Jasmin's thinking about the processes she used to interact with English Language texts. Jasmin was clearly a marginalized learner due to her status as a minority language speaker, compounded by her lack of prior educational experiences, high degree of family mobility in her formative years, and the family's economic hardships (Baker 2001). Operating from the view that children are competent and knowledgeable in their own right (Smith 2011), empowering Jasmin to see herself as an active, engaged learner, was a vital necessity that could be achieved through a delicate negotiation of the boundaries of the relationship between Jasmin and her teacher.

As serious as Jasmin seemed about her role as big buddy, she did not appear to be confident in the role. For the first five reading buddy sessions, she was very reluctant to have the cameras

record her interactions. In field notes from week three of Reading Buddies, when a small camera was put on the table at which she and Cheeku were working, Jasmin indicated her discomfort, stating “ I no like it. No camera.” so the camera was quickly moved away. Later during the same session, when sitting close to the pair to observe their interactions, it was noted that the girls were speaking in very quiet voices, so much so, that conversation could not be recorded, but notes regarding body language and eye contact were made. Jasmin appeared to have a sense of responsibility to take care of Cheeku, selecting where they would sit and taking care to make sure Cheeku was comfortable. She carefully showed her all the contents of her Reading Buddy bag before they would start. Even though the children had the option to sit anywhere around the room, including on the carpet, on the couch or stretched out on the floor with pillows, Jasmin always selected a table at which to work, with their chairs side by side as closely as possible. With the book on the table in front of them, both girls lean in and over the table, resulting in Cheeku’s shoulder resting on Jasmin’s upper arm in a natural way. Jasmin appeared to be pointing to each word and picture with her index finger, while talking, smiling and making eye contact with Cheeku. She seemed to be encouraging Cheeku to do the same. Cheeku made eye contact with Jasmin after pointing and speaking, before smiling back at her. After a few minutes of interacting with each page of the book in this same way, Jasmin took out her reading buddy journal and drew a picture. She let Cheeku color it. While Cheeku was coloring, Jasmin was watching her, but also sat up straighter and looked around the classroom at the other students. Her face was expressionless as she looked around, but when she made eye contact with a third-grade peer who was sitting across the room on the couch with her buddy, she smiled and waved, and her classmate smiled and waved back.

After returning to the classroom, Jasmin was asked by the teacher if she would show her journal to the teacher. She seemed hesitant but complied. She was asked about buddies and what she and Cheeku did.

Jasmin: We read *George* book. George he like banana. I draw banana an' she color it. She like it. I like it. George he like it mas.

Teacher: It sounds like you both enjoyed that Curious George book. Your picture is very nice. Cheeku colors very nicely, staying in the lines and going one direction with her crayon.

Jasmin: yes, we like it. George es funnymonkey

Teacher: maybe you can read that book with me later.

Jasmin: I no know teacher. Maybe is finish. You know, there is banana in Mexico. And India. We like it, banana.

Jasmin was still hesitant to participate in reading group when the focus was decoding text and was a reluctant participant in one to one instruction with the teacher. To introduce the books used for reading group, a picture walk (turning pages and looking at the pictures only) took place and the pictures were discussed, the sequencing and pacing of which was controlled by the teacher. Jasmin seemed to enjoy the one on one time together when focused on pictures and talking about them, but often steered the instruction away from decoding text, instead initiating further conversation about connections she had with the books and experiences she had with objects in the pictures. Sociocultural learning theory explains that children are active participants in constructing knowledge, and learning is influenced by social interactions (Tracey and Morrow 2006, Vygotsky 1978), such as the social interactions initiated by Jasmin, stimulated by the features of the text she found salient, encompassing much more than the isolated words which needed to be decoded to read the book. The teacher, responsible for improving her skills with reading English, seemed to direct the focus on the words as the most important part of

interaction. Jasmin had oral responses to the features of the whole text and she was eager to share her background knowledge and ideas. Jasmin was constructing her own meaning of the importance of the book by drawing on her experiences outside the school setting, bringing everyday knowledge into the classroom setting, as a consistent strategy to negotiate meaning. Bernstein(1975) distinguishes between ‘non-school everyday community knowledge’ and ‘school knowledge’ and the boundary, or degree of insulation between them, when considering the framing of the message system, or what is permitted within the pedagogical relationship (89). Weakening the frame in this way, and blurring the boundary between everyday knowledge and school knowledge, created a space for Jasmin to integrate personal experiences, her Spanish language skills and her burgeoning English reading and speaking skills. An example of this documented in field notes, occurred after the aforementioned reading buddy session regarding *George* and bananas. The teacher was trying to get Jasmin to work with her with the same book Jasmin had self-selected for reading with Cheeku, hoping to gain insight into the ways in which Jasmin was interacting with the text or words in the familiar and preferred book, as she had observed Jasmin pointing to the words in her interaction with Cheeku, but could not hear the interaction. Sitting down with Jasmin and her reading buddy bag at Jasmin’s desk, Jasmin took out the book and turned to the page with George and the bananas.

Teacher: Tell me about this page

Jasmin: dis is George. He like banana best. My sister, she like it best. I like it naranjas best.

Teacher: Oh.

Jasmin: Naranjas is from trees. I know it. I see it. You know, my abuelo, have it naranjas. Is many many on one tree. I love it. I can make it juice. I can make it eat it. Is best one for me. Momma no es best one. She like it other one.

Teacher: Do you think George would like oranges?

Jasmin: I no know. Look it here (turning pages) George he like it bike. He like it sleeping. He like it present. Me, I like it too. I have present. In Mexico, I have it bike. I ride it, but no here. Here is walking walking.

The teacher sat in a student-sized chair at Jasmin's desk, sharing the small space with her as she talked about the pictures in the book and her connections to the objects in each picture. The teacher allowed Jasmin to lead the conversation and did not try to incorporate any direct instruction or focus on the printed words in the book in any way. The teacher was sitting side by side with Jasmin, making eye contact and directing her attention to the pictures that Jasmin referenced and made simple comments to indicate she was paying attention to Jasmin's ideas and sharing. Weakening the frame of the pedagogic relationship through such actions during this session, allowed Jasmin to control the content of the instructional time and gave insight into her literacy development and linguistic repertoire. This interaction took place in Jasmin's space – her desk- not at the teaching table, which could possibly indicate a further shift in the regulative discourse, with Jasmin in control of the instructional space as well as the physical space, and the teacher in the role of invited guest. Interactions such as these could also contribute to the building of a positive relationship between the teacher and Jasmin, as well as contributing to Jasmin's interaction with English language texts.

During this time frame, Jasmin was self-selecting Spanish books from the classroom library for free choice reading. She was also spending a significant amount of time choosing books to take to reading buddies. When she noticed adults watching her organize her buddy book bag and practicing with the books she was selecting, she would smile shyly and turn away, seemingly lacking confidence in her choices for her buddy, or it could be that Jasmin's role as a student could continue to be in the position of what Bernstein (1975) refers to as deferment. She is

taking everything in, observing, and beginning to emulate what she sees going on around her, but not yet ready to engage outside of herself.

Jasmin continued to request that the camera not be near her during buddies, but she was allowing the teacher to move closer to her during buddy sessions. She was also speaking in a little bit louder voice enabling her dialogue with Cheeku to be heard outside of their dyad. The following encounter from field notes in December 2015 highlights a significant shift in Jasmin's confidence and trust during buddies, and could possibly indicate movement in Jasmin's role from deferment towards commitment to the instrumental and expressive order (Bernstein 1975). Thus, Reading Buddies could be seen as valuable pedagogy contributing to inducting Jasmin into mainstream school expectations.

12/1/15 – Jasmin and Cheeku are sitting in the exact same spot again, at the table side by side, leaning in and over the book, their arms touching. The teacher approached them and Jasmin looked up and smiled (a first during buddies!) The teacher moved closer and sat in a chair at the table with them, opposite side and down the opposite end. Jasmin and Cheeku both watched her get settled and started to interact with the book in front of them again. Jasmin looked up at the teacher before she finished her sentence

Jasmin: teacher, you do it. I no know, but you can do it. (she started to push the book across the table towards the teacher)

Teacher: (standing) I think you can do it, Jasmin. You have good ideas and I think Cheeku will like to read with you more than with me (walk away)

Jasmin: OK I try

Jasmin's acknowledgement of the teacher by smiling and making eye contact during reading buddies while Jasmin was in her role as big buddy could possibly be indicative of an increase in

Jasmin's confidence. However, once the teacher sat in close proximity, Jasmin was eager to transfer the power to control the session over to the teacher. The result of the teacher removing herself from the situation, and affirming Jasmin's role as capable big buddy, seemed to further weaken the frame of the pedagogic relationship between Jasmin and the teacher and increase Jasmin's power in her pedagogic relationship with Cheeku.

The teacher walked around the room and came back towards the pair from behind, stopping behind them to listen without being seen. They were sharing a booklet entitled *I Like/*

Jasmin: see this one? This one is 'like' an' it is here an' here (*turning pages pointing to the word like on each page*) Like like like is in this one many. I do it and then you turn, ok?

Jasmin: I like toast and jam (*toast and jam have rebus with printed word under*)

Jasmin: We like tea and lemon (*tea and lemon have rebus with printed word under*)

Jasmin: I like no se que este? (*Looks around and sees teacher*)

Jasmin: teacher, what this one?

The teacher moved next to them and looked over at the book from a standing position.

Teacher: potatoes and ketchup – like French fries but the shape is different.

Cheeku: laughing – potatoes

Jasmin: ok, thank you teacher, now I read it I like potatoes and ketchup.

At this point, the teacher squats down beside them, so that Jasmin is in the middle.

Jasmin: We like pancakes (*omits word syrup, no attempt*)

Jasmin: I like fruit (*omits word cereal, no attempt*)

Jasmin: We like eggs and salt – no wait, no es salt (*pointing to the words*). Aqui is /p/ salt es /s/

Cheeku: pepper?

Jasmin: yes, maybe that it - Teacher, is this one pepper?

Teacher: Yup, that is pepper – p – you noticed the first letter meant it couldn't be s-s-salt

Jasmin: yes, but she is know it – (*pointing to Cheeku*)– We like eggs and pepper. That is weird but ok. Now you read it (*to Cheeku*)

Cheeku: pointing to the words, We like eggs and pepper – both girls laugh and shrug while maintaining eye contact with each other.

Cheeku: I don't like pepper. I like eggs only eggs.

Jasmin: I like egg with salt.

Teacher: I like eggs with salt and pepper.

Jasmin: I go to the bathroom. We read it when I get back, ok?

Jasmin left the table to go to the bathroom and the teacher walked away to observe other dyads, but watched Cheeku from a distance periodically. Cheeku was observed turning the pages in the book, pointing to the words and moving her lips. Jasmin returned within a few minutes and the pair again focused on the book on the table in front of them.

Reading buddy time ended and as everyone was cleaning up, Jasmin's voice was heard loudly over the din of chairs and chatter.

Jasmin; good job, super reader! You read it! High five!

Cheeku was laughing and gave Jasmin a high five. She was jumping up and down before putting her materials away and helping Jasmin pack up her reading buddy bag.

When walking towards the line, Jasmin approached the teacher looking very excited, standing tall with a big smile on her face. When the two made eye contact, Jasmin stated, “I gonna be a teacher just like you!”

This event represents a clear example of reading buddies as empowering pedagogy for young English learners. In the beginning of the session, Jasmin displayed increased confidence through her acknowledgment of the teacher with eye contact and a smile, which quickly faded as the teacher joined the dyad at the table. The teacher withdrew from the dynamic to provide space for Jasmin to control the situation when it appeared that her confidence was waning. The reentry of the teacher into the dynamic with Jasmin and Cheeku was done on a more equal level, with Jasmin asking the questions and integrating responses from the teacher and from her little buddy to make meaning of the text. The weakening of the frame in the regulative discourse permitted young English learners control over the pedagogic discourse within the Reading Buddy context. Jasmin’s exclamation at the end of the session that she wanted to be a teacher, could possibly indicate that she felt empowered, and she clearly expressed her identification with the teacher in wanting to be like the teacher when she grew up. Reading Buddies seems to be disrupting traditional education relationships through a blurring of traditional boundaries defining teacher and learner (Bernstein 1975).

In the classroom, Jasmin was still somewhat resistant to reading sessions. December was the first time the teacher could get close enough to hear and observe the interaction between Jasmin and Cheeku during buddies. In interacting with the texts with Cheeku, Jasmin seemed to be role playing teacher and was focusing on the text, the very thing she avoided during reading group in the classroom. She was also using the same expressions of praise used with her “good job, super reader” “high five”. Jasmin appeared to be in an active role of teacher in her interactions with

Cheeku and attended to the features of the text- letter sounds, words, tracking text with her finger, that she as learner in the classroom, avoided. This seems to support Reading Buddies as empowering pedagogy for Jasmin. Jasmin could not rely on her Spanish skills to communicate with Cheeku's Marathi skills, so the two were operating in English and co-constructing meaning of English texts, relying on body language, gestures, pictures, illustration and role play to engage critically with texts. Jasmin was beginning to attend to printed words and employ decoding skills in her role as big buddy to Cheeku, applying skills she was hesitant to demonstrate in the classroom.

Perhaps contributing to Jasmin's growing comfort level with such activity was the level of texts being used in the Kindergarten classroom. While the texts Jasmin selected were beyond Cheeku's independent level, they were right at Jasmin's level, and they were similar to the texts widely available in the Kindergarten classroom, and were the same as those being used by most of Jasmin's third-grade peers with their reading buddies. Reading buddies presented a time when Jasmin was fully participating with her peers in a shared literacy practice in which the third-graders, including Jasmin, were the experts.

During Reading Buddy time, Cheeku seemed to be very attached to her buddy, Jasmin. She would sit very close to Jasmin and pay close attention to everything Jasmin did, as evidenced by her body language of sitting close, leaning in, tracking Jasmin's hand movements and copying her book handling skills. Cheeku made frequent eye contact with Jasmin and would laugh and smile with her as they explored books together.

During an interview with Cheeku's mother and older sister, they reported that Cheeku was very proud to have an older reading buddy and she often spoke of her at home. They explained how Cheeku plays Reading Buddies at home with the two of them using the strategies she and Jasmin

use in order to ‘teach’ mom and older sister how to read school books. They also explained how Cheeku plays reading buddies with her stuffed animals and dolls. Perhaps Cheeku’s role playing of Reading Buddies was one way she was working towards negotiating meaning of English texts. It could be that participation in Reading Buddies and her subsequent ‘playing’ of Reading Buddies at home with her Mother, sister, and toys, was Cheeku’s strategy for bridging her commitment to her family’s expectations of what learning to read involved and the school’s expectations. Cheeku’s father enrolled her in an after school tutoring program for reading in which there appeared to be strong classification and framing, with clearly defined roles of teacher and pupil as well as clear expectations of progress, for example, memorize a list of words, pass the test and move to the next level. Cheeku, understandably, accepts the instrumental and expressive orders embraced by her family. When asked about her tutoring program, she readily shared what level she was on and excitedly shared when she had passed a test. Cheeku was also experiencing success in reading instruction at school, where the classification and framing was weaker. She was also experiencing success in her interactions with Jasmin, as illustrated in the aforementioned Reading Buddy sessions. Cheeku was the first in her family to attend Kindergarten outside of India, and it seems that there could possibly be a mismatch in the inter-relationship between her home experiences and school experiences (Bernstein 1975). Playing Reading Buddies at home could possibly be seen as Cheeku integrating the two sets of expectations. Daniels (2001), in explaining Vygotsky’s theory of Zone of Proximal Development, talks about the relationship between the individual and a supportive other, “even if that other was not physically present in the context in which learning was taking place”(pg59). Using play as a strategy at home, Cheeku was role playing her

interactions with Jasmin and emulating Jasmin's behavior as big buddy with her family members and toys in the role of little buddy.

The role of play in the development of early literacy skills is well documented in the literature. According to Roskos and Christie (2011) and Bowman (2005), Vygotsky saw play, either solitary or group play, as a means of self-assistance, or creating one's own scaffold or self-help tool to extend a child's knowledge and skills to a higher level. Both Jasmin and Cheeku incorporated role play with their buddy relationship, with Jasmin seeming to role play being a teacher, and Cheeku using pretend play to engage in reading buddy activities with her family and toys. The National Association for the Education of Young Children(need year) advocates that culturally relevant and educationally diverse play should be an essential component of quality education programs for young learners because it supports children's social, emotional, and cognitive development. In the era of accountability and high stakes testing, play might be seen as denying children the information needed for success (Delpit 1988, Jipson 1991, Kessler 1991, Nielsen 2013). There are differing opinions on the emphasis that should be put on play within schools, with most of the emphasis being primarily relevant for very young learners, typically up to the age of five. However, there is an increasing number of studies and books looking at play involving older students, examples include Gee 2005, Cummins and Early (Eds.) 2001, Honeyford and Boyd 2015.

5.4 Conclusion: What we might learn from Jasmin and Cheeku

This chapter illustrated several different applications of Bernstein's theories and how weakening the frame of literacy instruction during Reading Buddies provided a space for child-initiated play as a means to negotiate meaning of English texts, in an educational setting where play is not often seen as relevant pedagogy. Another significant contribution of the data presented insight into the orientation of the family and familial expectations of education, and how these expectations can come into conflict with school expectations. This finding has significant implications for school policy and practice.

Even though play is not specifically identified as an instructional strategy within curriculum implementation documents, creating space for elementary aged learners to engage in self-directed play activities as a means to respond to standards expectations might be an empowering pedagogy, as observed in reading buddies with Jasmin and Cheeku. Another aspect of empowering these young learners is giving consideration to the roles and orientation of their families towards the instructive and regulative discourse of the school. While it might be accepted practice to attribute Jasmin's struggles to engage in the instructive discourse of the school to the poverty in which her family lives, it is more empowering for Jasmin and her family to consider ways in which the school program can be modified to enable her to engage more fully in the school. Such modifications can be resource neutral, meaning that existing materials and personnel within the school can be utilized, and involve providing opportunities within the school day for her to be in a leadership role, such as Reading Buddies.

Jasmin and Cheeku did not share a common language other than English. The next chapter will present data related to how children who do share a common language in addition to English can

utilize their complete linguistic repertoire to negotiate power and make meaning of English language texts.

Chapter 6: “Japanese and English together makes me”:

Translanguaging and multilingual learners: Ichigo and Sophia

Ichigo and Sophia are both from Japan. According to the California English Language Development Test, or CELDT, Sophia was assessed to be at the Beginning level of English acquisition, including listening, speaking, reading and writing, while Ichigo’s skills with English were identified to be at the Intermediate level in all areas. Sophia was learning the English alphabet and was new to interacting with English books according to her *Fountas and Pinnel* reading assessment. This assessment includes letter identification, early literacy behaviors, such as identifying the front of a book, book handling skills including turning pages and knowing where to start reading, identifying words, letters, and punctuation, as well as decoding text and engaging in a comprehension conversation about what was read. Ichigo was reading at the mid-second grade level, about 6 months below the expectation for entering third-grade. Both girls presented as shy and quiet in larger groups, reluctant to speak in English, but were eager to speak Japanese with others. Both girls seemed to enjoy participating in small groups and were much more talkative with fewer people around.

It was decided that Sophia and Ichigo would be partnered for reading buddies because of their common home language, gender and personalities. Ichigo had more advanced reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills in both Japanese and English than Sophia, and she appeared confident in using both languages, almost interchangeably. It was decided to focus on this dyad in particular because of Ichigo’s languaging skills.

There are many children who come to Parkwood with literacy skills in multiple languages, but because Parkwood is a monolingual school, with a strong emphasis on the development of

English skills, the use of multiple languages within pedagogic practice is not common. It was felt that observing the strategies utilized between Ichigo and Sophia to negotiate the meaning of English texts, might provide insight in to how Reading Buddies might contribute to supporting multilingual students within a monolingual public school setting.

Sociocultural learning theory situates literacy development within social contexts, and understanding how home literacy practices, and interaction with English texts utilizing languages other than English influence student engagement with texts might give students at risk of marginalization the opportunity to connect their own understandings of language and literacy to the curriculum encountered in school (Freire 2000, Garcia 2003, Piazza et al 2015). The case of Ichigo and Sophia is pertinent to this study because the complexity of the sociocultural experiences observed in the dynamic environment of Reading Buddies was not well understood, and the intent of this study is to describe and explain a contemporary issue within a real life context (Yin 2003).

Understanding parents' perspectives on literacy and having insight into home experiences are important aspects to inform the building of connections between home and school (Perez and Nordlander 2013). Bernstein's theories of the classification and framing of educational knowledge and his ideas around consensus and disaffection in education as a means of understanding student engagement in school (Bernstein 1975) contribute to understanding the complexities of the participation of multilingual students in a monolingual school setting.

6.1 Sociocultural background information for Ichigo

Ichigo, a petite eight-year-old girl from Tokyo, Japan was new to Parkwood for third-grade.

Ichigo means strawberry in Japanese, and Ichigo was very quick to decide upon her pseudonym for inclusion in this study because, as she enthusiastically shared, “I love strawberries! They are cute and yummy and the best thing in the world. I am ichigo!” When teased by other children about selecting a fruit for her name, she laughed with them, declaring, “I love them so much and want to be called Ichigo. It is my choice and I love it – kawaii ne?” (kawaii ne translates roughly to ‘isn’t it cute?’) In this interchange, Ichigo appears very confident in her choice, and resists teasing by others by joining their laughter and standing up for herself.

Although Ichigo presented as quiet and was reluctant to speak in front of a larger group, she was very confident and vocal in small group situations, especially when other Japanese speaking children were present, whether the conversation was happening using English or Japanese.

The following information was summarized from unstructured interviews, formal and informal conversations with Ichigo’s mother at school. Ichigo was born in Tokyo, Japan in 2006. Both of her parents are University graduates and had professional careers prior to her birth. Her mother stayed home with her for her first year, and then returned to work full time, resulting in Ichigo starting nursery school full time at the age of one. Ichigo walked at 12 months and began talking with meaning at 18 months. Her parents read Japanese books to her every night and visited the library regularly. Ichigo’s favorite books in her young years were *Guri and Gura* picture books, a popular series in Japan starring mice brothers. Her mother reports that she loved the little mice and wanted the books read and reread to her. Her parents spoke some English with her because her father was interested in transferring to the United States with his company. The family’s life circumstances could be indicative of economic advantage and the time spent nurturing Ichigo’s

early literacy and bilingual skills could possibly give her an academic advantage from a very young age. Ichigo's family relocated to Boston, Massachusetts, in the United States when she was four years old, and she attended preschool in which instruction was exclusively in English. Her mother reports that Ichigo did quite well in the English only setting, and was speaking English with increasing fluency. Family communications at home began to rely on both Japanese and English. When her family relocated back to Japan and she began Kindergarten, Ichigo began to experience difficulty in school due to her use of English and Japanese to express herself. She attended a neighborhood Japanese school, and the instruction was exclusively in Japanese. Her teachers expressed concern over her adjustment. Consequently, her parents enrolled her in a private international school that offered a dual immersion program in which the children received instruction in Japanese for half of the day and English for the other half. Clearly, enrollment in this type of school is indicative of her parents' commitment to Ichigo's growth as a multilingual learner. Ichigo loved this school, which she attended for Kindergarten, first and most of second grade. Her records indicate strong academic performance in both languages.

In December of 2014, the family relocated to Silicon Valley, California and rented an apartment in the Parkwood attendance area. Due to overcrowding at Parkwood, Ichigo was sent to a neighboring school for the second half of what was her American second grade year. Her records indicate that she made good progress in all areas and an interview with her teacher revealed that Ichigo was very quiet and reluctant to participate in group activities. Ichigo was the only Japanese speaking student in her class, and that particular school only had about 3 Japanese speaking children in the whole school. In August of 2015, Ichigo secured a place at Parkwood and began third-grade. There was a Japanese speaking boy in her class, and she knew

several other Japanese students in different classes that she knew from her apartment complex, with whom she played during recess and lunch. The group could be heard speaking in Japanese and English during unstructured time.

During parent teacher conferences in September of 2015, Ichigo's mother expressed concern that she was using too much Japanese during the day, and she felt she should be using more English. Interestingly, her teachers in the Japanese school she attended prior to enrollment in the international school, felt she was using too much English. Clearly, Ichigo is demonstrating that she languages in both English and Japanese, relying on both to express herself. To reflect upon her mother's concern, Bernstein's theory on sources of consensus and disaffection in education could possibly provide insight as to how the educational program at Parkwood and the family can work together to more fully support Ichigo as a learner. In looking at the interactions between Ichigo, her family, and the program offered at Parkwood, it appears that the family is invested in the means of both the instrumental and expressive order of the school (Bernstein 1975). Ichigo demonstrated engagement in all aspects of schooling at Parkwood through her active participation in academic and nonacademic activities. Her mother was an active volunteer in the classroom and Parent Teacher Association (PTA). Ichigo attended Japanese school in the evening twice a week, in order to keep up with Japanese curriculum, in case the family had to relocate back to Japan. Her mother felt that Ichigo should use English at Parkwood and Japanese at Japanese school. It could be that her mother expects Ichigo to use a single language within a specific context.

Her mother described conversations at home as happening in English and Japanese. Ichigo preferred to read Japanese books at home and seemed more excited when her mother purchased Japanese books for her than English books. This could be due to the change in her schooling. In

Japan, Ichigo attended a school in which instruction was provided in both English and Japanese, allowing time within the school day to exist within both languages, whereas, instruction at Parkwood was only in English, with no formal opportunity for the use of Japanese. Her mother felt she was being too strict about reading because she forced Ichigo to read both Japanese and English every day. The family's expectation was clearly that Ichigo would be a multilingual learner. The following picture was drawn by Ichigo in response to a question about what it meant to her to be a reader.



Figure 16: Ichigo's Drawing of what it means to be a reader

On the back she wrote:

I read at table because I read every morning. I'm eating breakfast and read same time so I have to read in table. I almost read Ivy& Bean book every day. I like to read in Japanese and English both. I don't like to read nonfiction.

Ichigo reads out loud to her little brother and shares books with him, but her mother felt she did this because her mother required her to, not because she enjoyed it. Ichigo's picture might

support this, but it could also be that she enjoys reading by herself more than to her brother. The implementation of the Common Core State Standards has resulted in more focused instruction on nonfiction texts for a larger portion of the school day. It could be that this focus is difficult for Ichigo because of the use of English only at the school, and the level of new scientific vocabulary often associated with nonfiction texts is beyond her level of English understanding. The means of transmission of specific skills required to demonstrate proficient interaction with nonfiction texts is English, and the opportunity for using Japanese within the instructional day is limited. Understanding Ichigo's languaging and her family's expectations of her as a multilingual learner could provide support for how the school program can be adjusted to provide learning opportunities in which Ichigo is free to draw upon her complete linguistic repertoire as she develops her reading, writing, listening and speaking skills in both English and Japanese. Reading Buddies could provide such an opportunity.

Knowing that Ichigo had a preferred series in her early years that involved two mice friends having adventures together was helpful to the teacher in selecting books to encourage Ichigo to read English books and have a series to enjoy. Ivy and Bean is a book series introduced to her by her class teacher during reading groups. They are beginning chapter books in which two girls become friends and have adventures together. The teacher, using information provided by Ichigo's mother with regard to her early experiences with a favorite book series, was able to draw on this information to support Ichigo in making a connection between Guri and Gura and Ivy and Bean.

Ichigo's parents hope to stay in the United States, until she finishes high school. Ichigo attends Japanese school in the evening twice a week in order to keep up with Japanese curriculum. Her

mother expressed that she would like her to be able to choose to attend University in the United States or in Japan. She expressed that she is more comfortable supporting Ichigo with Japanese curriculum, and that she is also studying English so that she can be more supportive of her schoolwork at Parkwood. Her mother felt that Ichigo was avoiding English by using too much Japanese speaking during the school day. The teacher shared Ichigo's assessment data on English reading, writing, speaking and listening, which showed steady improvement. The teacher also expressed her support of Ichigo as a multilingual learner, seeing opportunities for Ichigo to use Japanese during the school day as beneficial to her overall language development. This situation could represent a disconnect between the ends of the instrumental order of the school, which includes the development of fluency with reading, writing, speaking and listening in English, however, it might be possible that embracing linguistic diversity and validating the use of multiple languages as a learner within the monolingual environment reduces obstacles to participation and empowers young English language learners.

6.2 Sociocultural background information for Sophia

Sophia, a quiet, petite five-year-old girl from Yokohama, Japan, was in Kindergarten during the time of this study. Sophia decided upon her pseudonym because it was the name of the translator who came to translate during reflections upon video recordings of Reading Buddy sessions. Sophia bonded instantly with the translator as evidenced by her smiles and hugs and frequent compliments on clothing and hair exchanged between the two upon greeting one another. They used both English and Japanese to communicate. Sophia was eager to sit close to the translator and even on her lap if permitted. Sophia also demonstrated such ease of interaction with her class teacher and was often seen sitting very close to her, holding her hand while walking, and greeting her with hugs throughout the day. Sophia spoke English in one or two word expressions and used a lot of gestures to make herself understood. She would use gestures while speaking Japanese to others she knew did not understand Japanese. Sophia frequently asked other Japanese speaking students to translate things for her, both receptively and expressively.

Sophia's older sister was a 5th grader at Parkwood, and her baby brother was born during her Kindergarten year. The family moved to California when Sophia was two and a half years old. Prior to coming to the United States, both parents worked full time and Sophia attended a neighborhood nursery in Yokohama from the age of 5 months old. Her father graduated from college and her mother reported that she took classes after high school. Her parents reported that they both worked so much that they did not go to the library or read very often, but the children were read to at the nursery school. They expressed that the nursery school they chose for their daughters provided academic activities like reading and math as well as play, and they felt that it was a good school for them. The nursery school instruction was in Japanese only, and

her father explained that they didn't think about learning English until after the family relocated to California. Sophia's parents express a commitment to education and academic development through the choice of nursery school, and an apparent trust that the nursery school was providing for early literacy development needs. After coming to the United States, Sophia stayed home with her mother, attending Japanese play groups and going to the park until she began preschool at the age of 4. The family rented an apartment in the same luxury complex as Ichigo's family. Sophia attended an English language preschool part time for one year, as well as Japanese Kindergarten on Saturdays before starting Kindergarten at Parkwood. Sophia's parents demonstrate commitment to her education at Parkwood, and seem to understand the expressive and instrumental order of the school. The family appears to support the means of the instrumental order through their cooperation with home assignments and the support they provide Sophia as she begins to learn English. Sophia's family has an English tutor that comes to their home for 30 minutes twice a week to work with the girls on their English skills, and both continue to attend Saturday Japanese school to keep up with Japanese curriculum. Both parents came to interviews, with Dad being the active participant and translating for Sophia's mother, who spoke very limited English. Sophia's father spoke English in short sentences, and asked for questions to be reworded and for the interviewer to speak slowly. Her parents explained that the family has about 30 books in the home, mostly Japanese books. They felt that Sophia was not particularly interested in books. They expressed that Sophia prefers drawing and writing to reading, and it is challenging to get Sophia to read the books she brings home from school in her reading book bag. Her mother does not read English and her father often works late, returning home after the girls are in bed. Her older sister reads the books with her, and tries to make it like

a game. The girls discuss the books primarily in Japanese, with only a few English words used.

When asked what it meant to her to be a reader, Sophia produced the following picture



Figure 17: Sophia's drawing of what it means to be a reader

Through the translator she explained:

I am not a reader. But reading is like a party when my sister helps me. Ichigo helps me, too. It is a party because I am happy I can understand with Japanese. I like the books with real animals and I learn some reading with English, but I am happy when someone helps me to know it.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide detailed explanation of the stages of development of reading, but it is clear from her own explanation that Sophia does not yet see herself as a reader. Given that she is just five years old, this is not seen as a problem.

Sociocultural learning theory tells us that the acquisition of new concepts and skills is most effective through active participation with others, and that learning is socially mediated and collaborative in nature (Daniels et al 2007).

The Reading Buddy interactions between Sophia and Ichigo that are included in this study highlight how both girls rely on both Japanese and English language skills to negotiate meaning of printed English texts. They also provide insight to how both learners support each other as they develop as readers and multilingual students in an English only learning environment.

6.3 Reading Buddies, Ichigo and Sophia

Ichigo and Sophia knew each other prior to being assigned as buddies as they live in the same apartment complex. Upon seeing each other the first day of buddies, and discovering they were assigned to work together, the girls hugged and jumped up and down. The girls held hands as they walked around the room talking about where they wanted to work. Both pointed to the teacher's table at the same time, looked at each other and started laughing. They were comfortable with the camera recording them, and often asked to see their videos. They self-selected the teacher's U shaped reading table as their special spot for reading buddies, and would sit directly across from the video camera, which was mounted to a tripod and positioned in the inside of the U. A translator was brought in to watch videos with the pair in order to translate to English when Ichigo couldn't explain.

Due to the use of both Japanese and English during the Reading Buddy sessions, the transcriptions of the videos were completed using both languages. The translator then met with the researcher and the Japanese portions of the text was translated into English. Translated text will be identified in the following exchanges as indicated by placement in double brackets, such as these << >>.

The following interaction detailed in field notes presents a key insight into Ichigo's languaging and her reflective response to watching herself interact with text and her reading buddy on video.

Ichigo: Do no book should we start to read? Do no hon o yomubekidesu ka?
Sophia: points to book about gorillas
Ichigo: Dono yō ni eigo de sore o iu nodesu ka? How do you say it in English?
Sophia: no response
Ichigo: Gorilla Gorira – see they sound the same!
Sophia and Ichigo : laughing and saying Gorilla, Gorira.

Ichigo: teacher kamu! Say this – Gorilla, Gorira – do you hear it sound the same?

At this point when watching the video together, Ichigo starts giggling uncontrollably, while the translator, observer, and Sophia look at her questioningly. When queried about her laughter, she replied:

It is funny to me. Sometimes I say Japanese first, sometimes I say English first and I don't know it. I am seeing a surprise... I see Sophia's face... She is watching for me.... to say something she understands and I watch her face on the video and she doesn't understand, but I keep talking (laughing) and then... finally understands. It is English or Japanese, but I am not thinking. But now I am watching, I see it.

Ichigo seemed genuinely surprised to watch herself speaking in both Japanese and English, reflecting on her own language usage and recognizing the fluency with which she used both languages within the same sentence. Another key recognition is that she realized that she continued to speak on the same subject until Sophia understood, as opposed to moving on to another topic or page in the book.

Watching this video without the commentary of the students, it might appear that Ichigo herself was searching for words in both English and Japanese to express her ideas, which she may in part be doing. However, to listen to her explain what she is observing from her performance on the video, it is clear that she is attending to the needs of her little buddy, using metalinguistic strategies and translanguaging (Garcia 2009, Wei 2011) until Sophia's expression indicates understanding. Ichigo was not necessarily selecting words to express her thinking, but could possibly have been pulling from her linguistic repertoire to be sure her partner understood, which could indicate a higher level of language usage than simply code switching, or using both of her languages independently. Garcia (2009), recognizes that there may be overlap between code-

switching and translanguaging but explains that code-switching is more of a linguistic term referring to the analysis of speech of bilinguals and operates through the lens of language separation, whereas translanguaging is sociolinguistic, and embraces the dynamic, flexible, and social language usage students engage in to support and maximize understanding, drawing from all languages in their repertoire. Garcia (2009) and Baker(2011), in their writing on bilingualism, refer to language learning as a dynamic process in which individuals use a variety of languages along a continuum in the process of becoming bilingual. It could be helpful to consider this continuum of bilingualism in relation to sociocultural learning theory and the work of Vygotsky (1978), and in particular the Zone of Proximal Development or ZPD, which he defines as

actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the higher level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (page 86)

In observing Ichigo and Sophia, it might appear that Ichigo, who demonstrates more advanced reading, listening and speaking skills in both English and Japanese, is providing the guidance for Sophia to develop her reading, listening and speaking skills in both languages.

Daniels (2001) citing the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) refers to scaffolding as a one- way process in which the more capable peer constructs a scaffold and presents it to the learner as a structure on which to build new learning. Reading Buddy interactions between Ichigo and Sophia could be seen as such a one way interaction in which the more capable student, namely Ichigo, provides a scaffold in the form of translated text, for Sophia. The use of video and reflective conversations about the videos help to understand the interactions more thoroughly. The interactions appear more negotiated between the two learners, thus creating for both a ZPD

that is dynamic and moves both learners along the continuum of language development in both English and Japanese, at times blurring the identification of one as the more capable learner, instead creating a space in which both are dynamically engaged and support each other in their bilingual development.

The following interaction from field notes and translated from video recordings, provides further evidence of the dynamic process which occurs during Reading Buddies between Ichigo and Sophia. Important to remember when considering this vignette is Ichigo's expressed dislike for nonfiction text.

Ichigo: Which book should we read?

Sophia: This – pointing to a nonfiction book about bear cubs.

Ichigo: uuugghh How about this one? – reaching for an I Spy book in which readers hunt for objects hidden in complex photographs of collections of things.

Sophia: No! This! Holding the bear cub book.

Ichigo: Dōshite? Kore no kata ga yoi. Motto tanoshiku <<Why? This is better. It is more fun!>>

Sophia: Kuma no ko wa totemo kawaiiidesu! Watashi wa anata ni sore o yonde hoshī.<< the bear cubs are so cute. I want you to read it to me>>

Ichigo has expressed her dislike of nonfiction text in her writing about being a reader as well as on several occasions during reading buddies when given a choice about books to share. She is attempting to influence Sophia away from nonfiction books during this exchange. Sophia has expressed that she likes to learn about real animals, and this is a source of disagreement between the girls. In looking at the power dynamic between the two girls, Ichigo is older and has a better command of reading, speaking, listening and writing in both English and Japanese, so one might assume that she has more power in the dyad. As the session continues, it becomes clear that the

girls are negotiating the power dynamic in a way that perhaps would not be possible if an adult, namely a teacher, was involved in the situation.

Ichigo: Fine. But do you know what is scientist ? Can you say what it is in Japanese?

Sophia: No.

Ichigo: See, it is hard for you.

Sophia: You say me

Ichigo: Shiranai exactly << I don't know exactly>> but he is studying the bear cubs, so it is not a cute book. It is a learning about bears book.

Sophia: daijōbudesu <<that's ok>> Watashi wa jagā mo sukidesu <<I like jaguars too>>
looking through book bin for more books

Ichigo: fine, ok. Let's do picture walk first.

The pair proceed to look at the photographs in the book, taking turns turning the pages and commenting on the photographs. Sophia seems to visibly relax on the video, leaning in closer to the book, smiling and talking with more enthusiasm as they look through the book. They reach a page on which there is a photograph of a bear cub that has been anesthetized with a dart gun and they both appear very upset by the picture.

Sophia: Nani? Read it! <<What? Read it!>>

Ichigo: Nani ga okatta? Why did he shoot? <<What happened? Why did he shoot?>>

Sophia: Read!

Ichigo: Ok, but maybe it is sad.

Sophia: Read!

Ichigo is looking at the page and appears to be reading the text to herself, resulting in Sophia hitting her on the arm and telling her to read it out loud.

Ichigo: Ok. He is not dead. Only sleeping so scientist can test him.

Sophia: No! Read to me.

Ichigo proceeds to read the page to Sophia and then turns back to the beginning of the book and reads the whole text out loud, with expression and comments to Sophia in Japanese about the content. This seems to be a shift in Ichigo's orientation to the book, which she initially rejected

and tried to avoid reading. Both girls appear engaged in the book as evidenced by leaning close together over the book, which is on the table in front of them. Their arms are interlinked and they are sharing the job of turning pages. Ichigo is reading the book in English, and Sophia asks questions in Japanese and Ichigo responds using both English and Japanese. Sophia can be heard saying words in English, such as cute, momma bear, two baby bear. Ichigo appears deeply engaged with the text, and appears to be reading and rereading the passages, perhaps to be sure she is understanding the text. She appears to be carefully explaining the text to Sophia, translating to Japanese. The girls showed the page with the tranquilized baby bear to the teacher as she walked by and asked questions about that particular practice. They were particularly concerned that it hurt the baby bear, even though the book explained that it didn't hurt. They repeated this conversation in Japanese with the translator during a reflective video watching session. They had a long conversation with the translator in Japanese about the topic of using dart guns with wild animals that wasn't translated, with the end result being that the trio would look for more books about studying wild animals written in Japanese, so Sophia could read it at home with her mom and Ichigo could also read more at home. This episode could be seen as an authentic school to home connection, and could possibly expose Ichigo to nonfiction text in a way that is motivating to her and not tied to any academic demands from the classroom.

In this interaction, Sophia initiated the use of a nonfiction book, which was not Ichigo's first choice, nor was nonfiction a preferred genre for Ichigo. Ichigo routinely steered her Reading Buddy sessions with Sophia towards fiction picture books, her preferred genre and presumably the genre with which she felt them most confident and engaged. During this Reading Buddy session, Sophia insisted that the dyad engage with a book of her preference, indicating social

negotiation and movement of Ichigo from a place of confidence and comfort to a less preferred genre of English text. Ichigo interacted with the text in her role as big buddy at the request of her little buddy, thus indicating that there can be negotiation within the buddy dyad that moves both learners within their ZPD, dynamically supporting each other. One buddy is not necessarily in the role of more learned other all the time, and the learning process is more dynamic than the idea of a static scaffold provided by one learner for the other. Sophia was guiding Ichigo and encouraging her to interact with a book she normally would have rejected.

During the next Reading Buddy session, Ichigo had preselected a book by Eric Carle to read with Sophia. It was The Very Quiet Cricket. She explained that she thought it was like nonfiction because the characters were bugs, and the book could be used for learning about crickets. She expressed that she hoped Sophia would be happy with it and not want more nonfiction books. Sophia seemed to be very excited about the book when Ichigo took it out of her Reading Buddy bag, exclaiming “ yes! Wait!” and she proceed to run across the room and come back with a nonfiction book about insects. The following exchange provides further evidence of negotiation between the two, as well as the fluidity of the power and control over the content of the lesson.

Ichigo – uugghh. No! I brought this book for today.

Sophia – fine. First is you book. Last is my book.

Ichigo – no! first is your book and we will end with my book because my book is happy and I want happy for the rest of the day!

Sophia – What? Book is book. Who cares?

Ichigo – That book is gross. Who wants to see bugs? You remember it in your mind and ewww.

Sophia laughs and shrugs her shoulders as she opens the nonfiction book on insects she has chosen. It is Insects by Robert Bernard, and has a full color photograph of a grasshopper on the front cover.

Sophia: See? This same.

Ichigo: No, it isn't the same. <<That is a grasshopper and this is a cricket.>>

Sophia: huh. <<They look same to me.>>

Ichigo: well, they aren't the same. Mine has a cricket – kuriketto. And this is grasshopper – batta.

Sophia: huh. Maybe is same.

Ichigo: say grasshopper

Sophia: grasshopper

Ichigo: say cricket

Sophia: cricket

Ichigo: see? They are not the same. Now let's say them in Japanese – kuriketto, batta

Sophia: kuriketto, batta

As Sophia says the words, she points to the corresponding picture on the cover of the book. The girls turn this in to a game, where both say the name in Japanese or English and the other has to point to the picture corresponding to the spoken word. They get faster and faster, seemingly trying to trick the other, until they are both laughing so hard they cannot continue. Sophia then concedes that they are maybe different because kuriketto <<cricket>> is brown and batta <<grasshopper>> is green. The girls engage the teacher in the game as she walks by, and they laugh as the teacher tries to learn the Japanese word for each insect.

Ichigo proceeds to read the nonfiction book about insects to Sophia and the girls pause to discuss the photographs, using both Japanese and English. When they come to the page with the grasshopper, Ichigo resumes the game, pointing to the word grasshopper in English and prompting Sophia to say it in Japanese. She then turns the page, only to turn back quickly and prompt Sophia to say the word she is pointing to, which is grasshopper, in English. Once the nonfiction book has been read, the pair read the fiction book, taking time to comment on the insect characters in the fiction book that were also in the nonfiction book. They are

spontaneously making connections between a fiction and nonfiction text, and pointing out similarities and differences between the fiction insect and its real-life counterpart as shown in the nonfiction book. This exchange attracts the attention of nearby dyads, resulting in a small group forming to engage with both texts and share their thinking.

6.5 Conclusion: What we might learn from Ichigo and Sophia

Significant findings from exploring Reading Buddies with Ichigo and Sophia include the ways in which young learners use all of their language resources to make meaning of English texts. Creating a space within the English dominant school day for young learners to use their primary language seems to empower young learners to take academic risks. Ichigo and Sophia also show us that learning in cross-age dyads is multi-directional, and both younger and older learners support each other when using primary and additional languages to negotiate meaning. The level of engagement with text demonstrated by both girls could support Reading Buddies as an empowering pedagogic practice for young English Language Learners. Reading Buddies created a space during the school day for both learners to use their language resources to support their interaction with a variety of English language texts. The girls seemed to be moving across languages to support proficiencies in both languages and strengthen their comprehension of self-selected English texts, while building vocabulary and content understanding in both languages (Cummins 2007, Garcia 2013). Even though the teacher did not share more than a basic understanding of the primary language being spoken, she was able to be involved in the sharing of the books, and was able to gauge the level of comprehension and engagement with text because of the dynamics of the interaction observed and the questions posed to her by the young learners. This could possibly indicate a blurring of the boundary in the pedagogical relationship (Bernstein 1975) between the teacher and students as indicated by the content of the Reading Buddy session being transmitted in a language unfamiliar to the teacher, yet all three were active participants in the discussion of the nonfiction text, with the teacher trying to learn Japanese vocabulary in order to participate in the game, situating the teacher in a less powerful role, dependent upon Ichigo and Sophia to include her in the exchange through translating or

including English in her explanations. Hornberger and Link(2012) point out that educators do not need to master all the languages spoken by students within a class to use translanguaging as pedagogic practice.

This chapter attempted to show how Reading Buddies helped to create a space within the classroom context to encourage both girls' translanguaging and legitimize their communicative repertoires, and empowering them as learners (Hornberger and Link 2012, Garcia and Wei 2013, Garcia 2009). According to Vygotsky (1987) as quoted in Daniels (2001), “we know that the child can do more in collaboration than {s/he can independently” (page55, italics added).

Chapter 7: “Is it real or is it a joke?”

Creating a space for meaningful interactions: Agent and Skywalker

In the last chapter, Ichigo and Sophia demonstrated how multilingual children who share common languages use their complex repertoire of multiple languages to negotiate meaning of English language texts through translanguaging. In this chapter, Agent and Skywalker bring to fore how children, when the space is created, can use texts as a tool to engage one another in meaningful literacy interactions and alter behavior patterns that do not necessarily fit within mainstream expectations. In looking at the data from Agent and Skywalker, it is useful to apply Bernstein’s theory of pedagogic discourse, and in particular, regulative and instructive discourse, and how the two differently defined discourses actually influence one another to empower young learners to operate within mainstream pedagogic expectations.

Agent and Skywalker both demonstrated fluency with speaking, listening and reading English as well as the language of their families. According to the California English Language Development Test, or CELDT, Agent demonstrated skills with speaking, and listening at the Intermediate level, while his reading and writing skills were assessed to be at the Early Intermediate level. These levels can be considered advanced for a student of his age and Kindergarten grade placement, especially considering this is his first year enrolled in school. Skywalker’s test results indicated his skills were initially fluent English proficient (IFEP), an advanced level of English proficiency in all four areas assessed. Both boys were assessed to be at grade level with their English reading skills according to the *Fontas and Pinnell* reading assessment. These two young learners identified as English language learners represent the top percentile of learners in this category in that they both demonstrate high levels of proficiency of the use of English for academic and social purposes.

Unlike Ichigo and Sophia, these boys do not share a common language other than English, but they do spend time exploring each other's language and seek to find similarities. Agent's family speaks Japanese, and Skywalker's family speaks Korean. Both boys presented as confident and curious, with an interest in athletic activities and sports, as well as nonfiction topics such as insects, trains, and dinosaurs. Skywalker indicated that he preferred to work with a boy rather than a girl. Agent made the same request. Skywalker was received by teachers to be a very responsible student who followed rules and procedures and completed his academic work to a very high standard. Skywalker was observed to keep his work space and learning materials neatly organized and accessible. Skywalker was observed to take on leadership roles within his table group, using encouraging words to motivate classmates to follow teacher directions to complete work assignments, and remind others to use materials safely and appropriately. During activities outside of the classroom, such as physical education, spirit rallies and festivals, Skywalker was observed to wear school colors and cheer loudly. He was an eager participant in sports competitions and participated in a martial arts demonstration for the whole school. To apply a Bernsteinian analysis to his school engagement, Skywalker might be considered to be highly involved and committed to the instrumental and expressive order of the school (Bernstein 1975). His family understood the means of educational transmissions as evidenced by their involvement with home assignments, in class volunteering and active support of school wide activities. Skywalker's home assignments were consistently handed in on time, were neat and thoroughly completed, often including responses above the requirement. His mother was an active volunteer within the classroom and the Parent Teacher Association. Skywalker's parents expressed the expectations that Skywalker would graduate from High School and attend University, either in Korea or the United States. The family seemed to be committed to the ends

or goals of the expressive and instrumental orders of the education process, in that their expectations were for Skywalker to excel at academics as well as sports and community service. Agent, on the other hand, struggled with following procedures and rules, and his behavior could be considered quite disruptive to the classroom. Agent was observed to run around the classroom and seemed to struggle to sit still with his hands and feet to himself both at the table or on the carpet. Agent frequently called out during teacher led instruction, and interrupted the speaker. Agent was observed to throw toys, pencils and books and climb over the classroom furniture. It seemed difficult for Agent to engage in the lessons and activities in the order in which the teacher instructed, as he would often attempt to work on activities of his own choosing without regard for what was going on around him. The work that Agent completed was often accurate and demonstrated understanding of the curricular goals. He was beginning to decode English words and books and demonstrated understanding of what was being read. Agent was capable with curriculum, so demonstrates involvement with the instrumental order of the school, however, he struggled with the expressive order, or conduct, character, and manner or behavioral expectations (Bernstein 1975). Agents parents, both University graduates, expressed their goals for Agent to do well in school, become a bilingual learner and attend University. It seems that Agent's family is accepting of the ends of the instrumental and expressive orders of schooling (Bernstein 1975), but perhaps struggle with the means of transmission as it occurs within a public school in California. While Bernstein (1975) posits that families with this orientation towards schooling are often aspiring working class families who want their children to do well in school and secure financially viable careers, yet are unsure of how to support their child in learning, the case of Agent shows that when looking at transnational professionals, language and culture are important considerations when making decisions about the interactions between a

child and the school environment. It was felt that Skywalker would be a positive influence on Agent, so they were partnered as Reading Buddies.

7.1 Sociocultural background information for Agent

Agent, a six-year-old boy from Tokyo, Japan, was a kindergarten student during the time of this study. When he was at school, he was often sent home due to unsafe or unruly behavior that disturbed the learning of others, or was damaging to property. During informal and semi-structured interviews with his mother, it was learned that he had limited exposure to formal school environments prior to enrollment at Parkwood. Bernstein's (1975) theories of the classification and framing of educational knowledge and his ideas around instructional and instrumental order as well as regulative discourse in education are particularly applicable towards understanding Agent's engagement in the school environment. Agent's parents express understanding of the ends of the instrumental order of schooling, in that it is their expectation that Agent will graduate from high school in either Japan or America, and attend University. They also hope that he will develop reading, writing, listening and speaking skills in both Japanese and English, and they have taken steps to lay a solid foundation for him. However, it seems that there could possibly be misunderstanding of the means of the instrumental order and the expressive order of schooling as it relates to pupil engagement at Parkwood Elementary. Agent's mother was required to come to school with him to help him adjust to the school environment and support him and the teacher as he learned about being a student at Parkwood. His mother explained that the school program was different than what he would experience in Japan, and she was learning a lot herself about the expectations during the time she spent in the classroom.

Agent was the only child in his family. His mother and father were both University graduates who worked full time prior to his birth. His mother left her job to stay home with Agent. They lived very close to her parents, and Agent and his mother spent a significant amount of time with

them prior to moving to California when he was five years old. His mother reports that he started walking at two years old and spoke with meaning when he was three. She felt he was later than other children in developing these skills because he didn't have to, as she and her parents did everything for him. Agent's mother took him to the library regularly and read Japanese and English books to him several times a day from a very young age. He also had a collection of picture books at his grandparent's home that he enjoyed having read and reread to him. His mother explained that his favorite book was Niko's Big Apple by Tanaka Tomoko, which is a book about a boy and a big red apple that is written in Japanese and English. She also explained that Agent was almost obsessed with big, red apples and they read every book in the library about apples and ate red apples every day for almost a year. She explained that she allowed Agent to explore his interests and he controlled the selection of activities in which they participated. They tried to participate in several classes when Agent was three and four years old, but he would lose interest and preferred to engage in his own activities. He did attend an outdoor camp at a local open space reserve and farm that lasted for two weeks when they first relocated to California. His mother explained that he enjoyed being outside and could move between activities with relative freedom. Knowing this degree of sociocultural and historical information about Agent and his formative years is very useful in understanding the ways in which he was interacting with the school environment at Parkwood and within the Reading Buddies program. Agent brought his learned expectations of being in control of daily routines and interactions with adults to the classroom. While his behavior could be and was considered disruptive to the classroom and school, to the point of excluding him from mainstream participation, understanding his formative years provides insight into his orientation towards social interactions and possible learning needs to orient him to the means of the instrumental and

expressive orders, or the day to day procedures involved in skills acquisition and the behavior expectations of Parkwood Elementary.

7.2 Sociocultural background information for Skywalker

Skywalker, a nine-year-old boy from Seoul, Korea, was a third-grader at the time of this study. He came to California with his parents and older brother when he was three years old. His parents are both University graduates. The family relocated to California because his father was recruited by an exclusive architectural firm after he completed a post-graduate seminar at a local University. Skywalker's mother, a professional martial arts competitor in South Korea, opened her own martial arts studio in Silicon Valley after the family relocated to this area. Skywalker's mother was a regular volunteer in the classroom, coming in every week to help during technology lessons. This involvement within the instructional day at Parkwood possibly enabled her to gain insight in to the means of educational transmissions and the rules and procedures of the school and Skywalker's particular classroom, so that she could support him as a student. Skywalker was a strong academic student who was training for his black belt test in Tae Kwon Do during the year of this study. Clearly, Skywalker's parents are committed to the means and ends of educational transmission, and maintain high expectations for Skywalker in academic and nonacademic activities. He was quick to decide upon his pseudonym for this study because he was a big fan of Star Wars.

Skywalker was born in 2006. His mother reports that he is the youngest child in the extended family and has a close relationship with his grandparents. She describes him as very serious from birth, always seeming older than his age due to his serious, responsible attitude. She says that he didn't seem to enjoy playing much, but preferred to have jobs or do things that were useful, not fanciful. His mother describes the home as full of books, and each family member as spending a lot of time reading each day. She explained that once the family moved to California, they became very active in a local Korean Christian church and Skywalker often sees her early in

the morning reading the bible, which is in English. Attending church services and Sunday School classes is the only exposure to Korean language Skywalker has outside of the family. Skywalker began attending English programs at the library when they arrived in California while his older brother was in school. There is a six-year age difference between the boys, and Mom describes them as being very competitive with each other. Once Skywalker began learning English, she felt his Korean skills became less strong. He began insisting that she read to him in English instead of Korean, and preferred English books be checked out from the library. Skywalker is very close to his grandmother, who lives in Korea, with whom he video chats every week. The two listen to Korean music together and enjoy radio stories. Skywalker and his family return to Korea every two years to visit, and his grandparents come to California every year for about three months. Skywalker works on his Korean skills with his grandparents and prefers to speak English with his parents and brother. Mom explains that he can understand, speak and read Korean, but he has not yet learned to write Korean with any fluency. His mom feels that his English skills are stronger than his Korean skills, which is only a little concerning for her, as she is confident that he will become proficient in both languages as he gets older. She explained that as a family, they use both English and Korean regularly as they are both their family languages, now that they are living in California. Agent's mother expressed some concern that he is so serious and driven to perform to a high level with his school work and martial arts, and explained that when she is volunteering in the classroom, she enjoys seeing him laughing with his classmates. She expressed concern that Skywalker can be stressed out about his reading buddy and she tries to encourage him to be patient and think of ideas to help his buddy behave better.

7.3 “Reading Buddies READ” – the Buddy relationship

Skywalker and Agent were introduced to each other before the official start of Reading Buddies, because the teachers thought it might help Agent adjust to the new situation if he knew his big buddy beforehand. The boys met in the Kindergarten classroom and participated in a reading interest activity at a side table while the other students were working with the teacher in the carpet area. The boys discovered that they were both interested in Star Wars and nature. During this initial visit Agent led Skywalker in to the restroom that is in the Kindergarten classroom and explained that he liked to flush the toilet and watch the water. The Kindergarten teacher explained that Agent seemed to be over fascinated with flushing the toilet and she had to monitor him closely or he would spend a lot of time there. She explained that he knew he would get in trouble if he talked about the toilet, or went in there too frequently. Skywalker expressed confusion over this situation when he returned to his third-grade classroom, and his teacher agreed to help him with his buddy if he needed it.

Skywalker and Agent had a very rocky start to their buddy relationship, as Agent was very active and seemed to want to try out all the seating options within each buddy session. Skywalker was observed chasing Agent around the classroom and in and out of the bathroom several times each session for the first several buddy sessions. The teachers frequently had to intervene and provide formalized structure with immediate rewards in the form of a sticker chart for Agent. His class teacher had him on such a reward program, and Skywalker introduced the idea of allowing him to go flush the toilet if he earned 10 stars by participating in Reading Buddies. As he adjusted to school expectations, Agent seemed to respond to a strengthening of the boundaries of the classroom, in which his choices were limited and the teacher controlled the pacing of the interactions, and manipulated the pedagogic discourse by breaking the expected behavior into

specific steps and rewarded Agent's participation and completion of concrete academic tasks (Bernstein 1975). An example of this was recorded in field notes. Agent was highly distracted by the video cameras and often exercised his right to turn them off. He would move them around the classroom, and hide them from the researcher, so observations of the pair were scripted in a field work journal.

Skywalker: Agent, we are sitting here at this table. This is my chair and this is your chair

Agent: No! I want the couch. – started to run towards the couch –

Skywalker: No chair, no sticker – as he followed Agent to the couch.

At this point, Agent began running around the classroom, laughing and squealing loudly, with Skywalker following him. The third-grade teacher directed Skywalker to go back to the table, sit in his chair and wait for Agent. Skywalker went back to the table and began looking at the book he had brought to read with Agent. When he realized he wasn't being followed by Skywalker, Agent slowed down and seemed to be looking around the room for Skywalker. Agent watched from across the room as Skywalker looked through the Star Wars book he had brought and began talking with another dyad sharing the same table. Agent walked over to the table and joined the group. Once he sat down, Skywalker put a sticker on his chart. The reading buddy session then ended and the third-graders began packing up to leave the room.

Agent was heard to say, “ but you didn't read to me.” To which Skywalker replied that they would try again next week and he would bring the same book. He explained that Agent wasted the time by running around the room, and he hoped that next time, Agent would stay at the table with him.

Skywalker continued to wait for Agent at the table for working and would reward him with stickers when he sat with him and looked at books. Agent continued to be intrigued with flushing the toilet and this absurdity seemed to be taking on a life of its own in that Agent seemed to thrive on the attention he received from other students when he talked about the toilet and his teacher was expressing frustration over his obsession. His teacher did not allow him to discuss or ask questions about the toilet, and was working to make him understand that toilet talk was not for school. This was an area of disagreement between the teachers, as the Kindergarten teacher was trying to restrict Agent's interest in the toilet, but the third-grade teacher thought that perhaps his interest could be used to engage him in reading and writing activities. Strengthening the frame of the pedagogic relationship between Agent and his class teacher created a situation in which the power and control over the instructional and regulative discourse rested firmly with the teacher, as a means to set clear and firm expectations for Agent's role within the classroom context. This type of control might be seen as a very traditional role structure, and even though it seemed in contrast to the typical structure of the Kindergarten classroom, it seemed to be an effective strategy for orienting Agent to the expectations of the classroom, especially considering that there were 29 other students in the classroom.

After several weeks went by, Agent began sitting at the table with Skywalker without prompting or rewards for a portion of the 30-minute reading buddy sessions and seemed to take interest in the books being shared as evidenced by his body language of almost standing while leaning over the table to be as close to the book as he could be as Skywalker read to him. The Kindergarten teacher seemed to have strict expectations for the type of texts available to the boys, and often provided a Scholastic News Magazine that presented short nonfiction selections, followed by

questions to be answered. The topics of the News Magazines were relevant to the Kindergarten curriculum and contained color photographs, and the students seemed to find them interesting.

The following interaction illustrates a strategy Skywalker spontaneously developed for engaging Agent in buddies, that altered the regulative discourse and power dynamic, which resulted in meaningful co-constructing of a text to world connection that incorporated Agent's fascination with the toilet into the instructional discourse of a shared literacy experience during Buddies. The boys were sitting together at the table when Agent quickly jumped up and started moving towards the restroom.

Skywalker: Agent ! The magic toilet is flushing and you better get back here before it finishes!

Agent: Magic Toilet? What is it? Where?

Skywalker: Here! In my journal.

At this point, Skywalker drew a circle on an empty page in his reading buddy journal and began drawing a spiraling circle inside of it, saying, " It is flushing. It is flushing"

Agent moved quickly back to the table and sat down to look at what Skywalker was doing. Once he realized it was just a drawing, he started to get up, but stopped and looked at the drawing again.

Agent: is it really flushing?

Skywalker: Yes it was, but it stopped when you came back.

Agent: laughing – it is a joke, right? Right? It doesn't look like a toilet.

Skywalker: I am not laughing. It is a toilet and it was flushing but it stopped – good thing.

Agent: Make it look like a toilet.

Agent started to get up again, when a third-grader at the other end of the table stated that she found a toilet in the book she and her buddy were sharing. She slid the book down the table to Skywalker.

Agent: Really? Can I see? Where is it?

Skywalker: It is here, in this picture where they are building a house. Look – it shows the pipes going in and out. See how the pipes go all the way to the street?

Agent: Is it? I want to see

Agent jumped up and ran into the restroom. Skywalker followed him and took the book with him.

The Kindergarten teacher began to intervene, but the third-grade teacher was close behind the boys and said she would handle the situation. When the teacher entered the restroom to check on them, both boys were crouched down looking under the sink at the pipes going in to the wall.

Agent was touching the pipes and asking questions about the water and if it was the same water for the toilet. When he noticed the teacher, he explained that the toilet pipes were hidden in the wall and he couldn't see any of them, but the sink had pipes. He was asking question after question without giving Skywalker the time to answer him. Finally, Skywalker said that maybe it would be explained in the book and they should go back to the table and read more to find out. Both boys walked back to the table and sat down side by side, with their upper arms touching as they leaned in over the book. The book was Richard Scarry's What Do People Do All Day? and the boys spent the next several reading buddy sessions reading and rereading this book.

Skywalker continued to use the magic toilet to entice Agent to return to the table when he would take off around the room.

One option for third-grade big buddies was to use hand held flip cameras to reflect upon their buddy sessions. The students could take the small video recorders out onto the playground and

talk about buddies. The students knew that the teacher would watch their videos, and she often conferenced with students about the contents of the video journaling. In a reflective video journal, Skywalker talked to the camera about the magic toilet and how surprised he was that he made up something on the spot that actually worked to keep Agent focused and at the table.

Skywalker also expressed surprise that Agent was so interested in the What Do People Do All Day? book, even though he himself was getting bored with it. He said he thought it might be good to find other books with similar content to see if Agent would move on from that one.

Once the teacher watched this particular video journal, she talked with Skywalker about books that might be useful. Skywalker became very emotional and began crying as he expressed his frustration with his Reading Buddy, and his desire to share books he was interested in with Agent, but he explained that he felt afraid that Agent would run all over the place again.

Skywalker said he felt like he was failing as a big buddy because his buddy was always running around and other kindergarten buddies actually sat with their big buddies and read books together. It was decided that Agent and Skywalker would come to the third-grade classroom to work, along with 9 other buddy dyads in hopes that a change of environment together with a smaller group of buddies would help Agent focus. The teacher also explained to Skywalker that Agent had never been in a school environment before, and he had a lot to learn. She reassured Skywalker that he was doing a fantastic job with Agent, and reminded him that the two had been partnered because the teachers felt that Skywalker would be a good role model and support for Agent.

Skywalker began to search for books that had toilets in them that he thought might interest Agent. The teacher also searched for books that might be of interest and began to put together a basket of books on a shelf in the classroom library, close to the desk where Skywalker and Agent

would be working. Skywalker explained to Agent that they would be working at his desk in the third-grade classroom.

Agent was excited to work in the third-grade classroom, although the transition from one space to the other proved to be very challenging for him. He would run and scream all the way between the classrooms, so the third-grade teacher and Skywalker decided to each hold one of his hands and walk with him whenever possible.

The change of classrooms seemed to have a positive impact on Agent. The third-grade classroom was smaller in size than the Kindergarten classroom, and also had desks for 30 students, making free space for wandering more limited than in the Kindergarten classroom. The teacher sat at an adjacent table, in a position to observe two dyads. Field notes indicate that Skywalker appeared very proud to show Agent his desk and its contents as evidenced by how straight he sat in his chair and how gingerly he removed his books and supplies from his desk as he explained to Agent how each was used. Skywalker had a pencil box and colored pencils that were a gift from his grandmother, and he took extraordinary care of them. He presented his pencil box to Agent by holding it with both hands just out of Agent's reach, explaining to him that it was very special because it was from Korea and his grandmother had given it to him. Agent seemed to understand how special the pencil box was and did not try to grab or touch it. Agent just stared at the pencil box and began asking Skywalker questions about his grandmother. The two boys talked about their grandparents and their home countries very calmly and seriously for about 10 minutes. An interaction like this had not been observed between the boys and it appeared to be a meaningful connection. Both boys, sitting side by side, turned in their chairs to face each other and held eye contact while they discussed the favorite food made by their grandmothers, the activities they liked to do with grandparents, and things they like in their home

countries. The artefact from Korea created a space for horizontal discourse (Bernstein 2000) or everyday experiences to enter the dialogue between the boys. Bernstein (2000) tells us that horizontal discourse contributes to social relations. The reading buddy session ended without the boys actually interacting with a book, but it seemed to be an important event in the relationship development between the pair. In his video journal that day, Skywalker expressed that Agent was nice that day and he felt like they actually listened to each other. He described it as being “a good day for reading buddies”. Skywalker indicated that he might let Agent use his colored pencils if he was good the next time, and that maybe being in the third-grade classroom was good for Agent.

Having Agent and Skywalker meet in the third-grade classroom also presented the opportunity to weaken the frame of the regulative and instructive discourse more so than within the structure provided for Agent in the Kindergarten classroom. Weakening of the frame allowed for more autonomy in text selection, and more open conversations about topics of interest. With fewer students in a smaller environment, it seemed that Agent was more engaged in interactions with Skywalker. Having a basket of books readily available allowed for Skywalker to present books of possible interest quickly. As the boys explored the books, it seemed that Agent’s interest was more in how the toilet functioned, as opposed to anything more absurd, which was a concern of his class teacher.

This chart represents the books selected by Agent to read with Skywalker over the course of several Reading Buddy sessions. The boys were video taped during their time in the third-grade classroom, with only a few interruptions due to Agent playing with the camera.

Agent would select books and Skywalker would read aloud, prompting Agent to read certain words or passages. Agent was very quick to pull other books from the basket and make

Title of Book
<u>What Do People Do All Day</u> by Richard Scary
<u>Toilet: How it Works</u> by David Macaulay
<u>Poop Happened – A History of the World from the Bottom Up</u> by Sarah Albee and Robert Leighton
<u>Underground</u> by David Macaulay
<u>National Geographic Readers: Water</u> by Melissa Stewart
<u>A drop of Water A book of Science and Wonder</u> by Walter Wick
<u>A Cool Drink of Water</u> by Barbara Kerley

Table 6: Books in Agent's basket in the 3rd grade classroom

connections between content, comparing information presented in the different texts. He would spread the books out on the table and try to engage with all of them at the same time, which seemed to frustrate Skywalker, as determined by his body language of rolling his eyes and trying to put books back in the basket, as Agent would interrupt his reading to talk about a different book. Skywalker expressed that he wanted to read a whole page at least before being interrupted, which was a request that was difficult for Agent.

Skywalker began to ignore Agent's questions and comments and kept reading. Knowing the socioculture backgrounds for each learner is significant to remember in this interaction because Skywalker has a history which indicates a strong acclimation towards schooling and behavioral and instructional expectations, as well as several years of experience as a student at Parkwood, whereas Agent's experiences in these areas are distinctly different. Agent is accustomed to following his own interests and line of thinking. Skywalker, in his role of big buddy, perhaps

sees the nature of their interactions as needing more of a hierarchical power structure in which he has control over the pacing and sequencing of the reading buddy interactions. Agent clearly had the power over the selection of the topic for reading materials, which could possibly contribute to this incident of disagreement between the boys. Bernstein(2000) tells us that ‘the instructional discourse is always embedded in the regulative discourse, and the regulative discourse is the dominant discourse’. However, he also states that ...’where there is weak framing over the instructional discourse, there must be weak framing over the regulative discourse’. In such situations, the rules of the game, if you will, are implicit or not clear to the learner, and could possibly be a source of confusion for Agent, as the boys are pursuing his line of interest, which he is accustomed to, however, the rules of interaction are different in that Skywalker is attempting to exert control over the ways in which they engage with the books.

During a reflective video watching session of the episode described above, Agent commented that Skywalker was ignoring him when he asked questions. The following interaction illustrates a poignant moment for Agent and Skywalker, during which Skywalker explains his use of selective ignoring as a means to control Agent’s behavior, and get him to interact more deeply with text.

Agent: You are not answering me. Look, you keep reading and I am trying to tell you.

Skywalker: I know. I did that on purpose

Agent: Why? That is not nice, I am just trying to tell you something I know.

Skywalker: You always want to tell me things or ask me questions. Maybe if you listen and read with me, then your question will be answered. That is how books work, you know.

Agent: I know what?

Skywalker: the books. They make you think of something questions but if you keep reading then you find out more and maybe the answer.

Agent: ok, but why do you ignore me?

Skywalker: Because if I talk to you then you go crazy sometimes and then we can't read. You want to talk about other things or you want to walk around and I want to just read and then talk about it.

Agent: oh, is that it. I like to talk. And I think I know things like you know and we can talk about it.

Skywalker: yes, of course we can talk about things, but you can't go crazy and run around. That is not what we do here, and Reading Buddies read – it is in the name of it – **READING** buddies. Not run around and act crazy buddies.

At this point, both boys start laughing and looking at each other. The use of humor and subsequent laughter indicates a weakening of the frame and what is permissible within the pedagogic relationship. The teacher was a part of this conversation, which speaks to the space created through Reading Buddies as a pedagogic practice for a blurring of the boundaries of relationships that can contribute to the empowerment of young English Language learners as they navigate their way through the English dominant school program. The use of laughter and joking could also contribute to a sense of belonging and safety as Skywalker assisted Agent in understanding academic expectations. The teacher asked if they wanted to keep watching or go read and both decided to keep watching the video “because it is cool to see myself”

The strength of the reflective conversations in which the boys discuss video-taped sessions of their reading together, allows space to move beyond traditional structures, such as punishment and reward within strongly framed interactions and find alternative means for moving Agent towards the expectations of student behavior at Parkwood, and in particular, during Reading Buddies. The boys were engaged with books that were in line with Agent's interest in the toilet, which actually turned out to be more of an interest in plumbing systems and water, once the cycle of his thinking was given space to move through its course.

Skywalker was very well versed in the regulative discourse of the school culture at Parkwood, and was also successful within the instructional discourse of reading and processes for using

books and reading for learning. Perhaps because the power dynamic between children is fundamentally different than that between an adult and a child (Johnson 1987), Skywalker was able to navigate Agent's peculiar interest and high energy level during the Reading Buddy encounters in a way that was more inclusive and validating, thus moving Agent towards a more authentic understanding of his role as a learner than a reward and punishment system that is focused on deficit would.

Embracing Agent's interest in the toilet and using that distracting topic as a subject of inquiry, creating a space for the boys to read about toilets and find toilets in books seemed to transform a source of contention and power struggle into a legitimate instructional tool. Skywalker was able to provide support and structure for Agent through use of a topic not often embraced in the instructional discourse of the classroom. Through strategic pacing and framing of the pedagogic interactions, Skywalker was able to engage Agent in deeper interactions with texts. Although Skywalker was somewhat frustrated with Agent for opening quite a few books at a time, Agent was in fact making connections between texts, which is widely known as a strategy beneficial to making meaning of text. In looking at their interactions, it seems that the

regulative discourse is itself the precondition for any pedagogic discourse . . . all pedagogic discourse creates a moral regulation of the social relations of transmission/acquisition, that is, rules of order, relation and identity, and that such a moral order is prior to, and a condition for, the transmission of competences. (Bernstein, 1990, p. 184)

Whereas teachers in a standards based accountability system may distinguish between competences and rules of order, children in the role of cross-age Reading Buddies, who are focused on making meaning of text, seem to integrate the two, and perhaps this is invaluable insight that can inform pedagogic practice.

Another significant interaction observed during Reading Buddies between Agent, Skywalker and several other Reading Buddy dyads involved the word water. The desks in the third-grade classroom had been rearranged from four desks together to form a small group to six desks together, resulting in another dyad needing to share the space with Skywalker and Agent. Skywalker and Agent were interacting with the following books listed in the circular graphic because that seems to best capture Agent's movement through books.

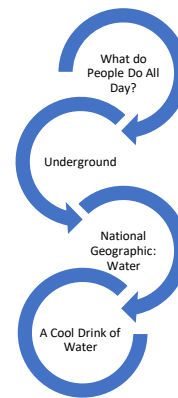


Figure 18: Agent's cyclical movement through books

The teacher was sitting across the room with another dyad when it was noticed that three dyads were huddled together around Skywalker and Agent. The teacher moved closer to observe and document the interaction.

When she approached, however, the children stopped talking and began erasing what they were writing in Skywalker's journal. The teacher assured the students that whatever they were doing was acceptable and she was curious about what they were writing in the journal. The students were silent and just stared at the teacher, who sat down at the table group with the students and reminded them that during Reading Buddies, she was learning from them, and she couldn't learn from them if they erased things and stopped talking. Thomson (2007) reasons that participatory research with children has the ability to shift the power dynamic through continual interactions and ongoing negotiations between participants and each other and between participants and the researcher. The role of the class teacher as a researcher and the subsequent shift in the power dynamic of students as experts and

teacher as learner had not come to bare with the children involved in this particular literacy event so poignantly until this interaction and it was uncertain what the reaction would be.

Skywalker: But it wasn't English

Teacher: That sounds interesting

Agent: It is Japanese. Do you know Japanese?

Teacher: Hai, Chotto <<yes, a little bit>>

Agent: Anata wa nihongo o hanashimasu ka? Watashi wa anata ga nihongo o hanasu no o shiranakatta. Watashitachiha mizu ni tsuite hanashite imasu. Roughly translates to<<You speak Japanese? I didn't know you speak Japanese. We were talking about water. >>

Teacher: woah – slow down. I only know a little Japanese! Did you say mizu – water?

Agent: Yes, we talking about water and writing it in our language.

Teacher: Can you show me?

Student 3 Leela: I speak Mandarin and I tried to write it. You say it <shui>

Teacher: shui

All students start to giggle.

Student 4 Fina: I can say it it Taiwanese and it is shui but I don't know any writing

Agent: Say mizu

Teacher: mizu

More giggling

Skywalker: We say mul

Teacher: mul

Skywalker: well, sort of like that. You write it like this. It is strokes like telling a story.

Agent: hey, that looks like a person

Skywalker: Well, it does and the strokes are meaningful, not like English. Sorry, Mrs M, but writing English is ugly. Just sticks and circles. Watch me write mul. It is beautiful.

Agent: watch me, mizu like this.

Leela: hey, Mandarin looks the same

Agent: really? I guess the characters are the same for Chinese and Japanese. My teacher at Japanese school tells me like this

Teacher: let me write water. Do you really think it is ugly? Well, ok, I guess I see what you mean. Korean, Japanese, and Chinese writing does look like art.

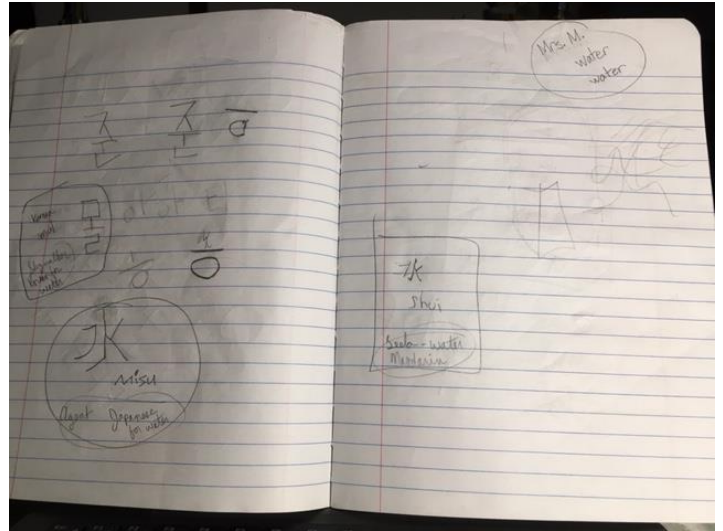


Figure 19: Skywalker's Reading Buddy journal showing the children's writing of the word water

Skywalker: they kind of look the same, like people. Maybe because water is so, you know, important to people.

Agent: yes water is good and we need it you know we really do and so do fish

Leela: and plants too, maybe the characters are like plants

Teacher: can I write in your notebook to remember this and remind me what the characters say?

Skywalker: sure, you can ask me and I can tell you again if you forgot

In this literature experience, children are finding the orthographic similarities between the languages of their families and attempting to find a similarity with English. Malsbary (2014), in her research with multilingual immigrant youth in Hawaii, explains that exploring similarities between languages is more than learning language, it is sharing and learning cultures and identity. Through such interactions, students are empowered by their knowledge of their primary language and it could be that Reading Buddies provides the space within the English dominant school day for legitimization of the linguistic strengths, culture and identity of young English Language Learners. Within the discussion of water, a space was created that allowed the students autonomy in how they relate to one another and to English texts, and how they can

relate across languages and power structures. The students were actually offering a critique of English as being ugly to look at and supporting their argument to their English monolingual teacher, which clearly demonstrates a shift in the power dynamic and blurring of boundaries of what is permissible within the pedagogic context of Reading Buddies. This rich example of peer-facilitated linguistic interaction integrated five languages – Korean, Japanese, Mandarin, Taiwanese and English in a way that could contribute to a sense of belonging and validation of cultural and linguistic diversity, legitimizing learners as learners without label or marginalization as English language learners.

7.4 Conclusion: What we might learn from Agent and Skywalker

The data presented in this chapter show how the social context for learning might be altered to support a learner presenting divergent leaning needs. The complexity of needs of international students in a national system of education, may be met by creating space for child led pedagogic practice. Such practice enriches the learning process for students and teachers, and provides a modification of the school day that enables a learner and his family to become more oriented towards the means of the regulative and instructive discourse of the school.

Agent and Skywalker were selected for participation in this study due to the nature of their interactions with texts, real world objects and their primary languages. Also, there were frequent behavior concerns with Agent that could be typical of those exhibited by other young learners who enter school for the first time, and the way in which Skywalker was able to use books within the Reading Buddy sessions to draw Agent in to the regulative and instructive discourse of the school, provides insight in to the power of the cross- age buddy relationship. In looking at the interactions of these two boys during Reading Buddies, and in particular the chaos that often ensued, the application of Bernstein's theories perhaps allows for a more precise understanding of Agent's needs as a learner, and the ways in which the social context of the learning environment might be altered to enable his successful participation in Reading Buddies, and perhaps the classroom. It is particularly interesting how Skywalker, in his role as big buddy was able to strengthen and weaken the frame of the regulative discourse through the use of various texts of interest, movement patterns, as well as regulation of his own social interactions with Agent, to provide the type of structure needed on any given day to support Agent in participation in Reading Buddies, while using Agent's interests as a motivating factor.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Implications

8.1 Implications for Policy

This study attempted to show that within the current educational climate in the United States that has a strong emphasis on testing and accountability with a focus on developing reading, writing, speaking and listening skills in English, it is possible to create a space in which young learners can employ their own strategies for making meaning. While the latest trend in education reform in the United States, the Common Core State Standards, are being promoted by many politicians, business leaders and some in the field of education as the answer to save our failing schools, close the achievement gap and prepare our children to compete in the global economy (Achieve 2013, NASBE 2014, Rothman 2012), the continued emphasis on assessment seems to be undermining all that could be good for learners, especially learners with diverse profiles (Darling-Hammond and Weingarten 2014). The actual language of the standards does not explicitly detail how the standards are to be implemented (Achieve 2012), but continuing to emphasize assessment and quantitative output as indicators of success of the education system seems to run the risk of creating students who are passive receivers of a narrowly defined knowledge as opposed to actively engaged learners, who are flexible, autonomous and creative (Darling-Hammond 2010, Darling-Hammond and Weingarten 2014, Apple 2013, Zhao 2009). This emphasis also has the potential to continue to disenfranchise diverse learners who do not fit the mold of the mainstream student for whom most standardized tests are designed. At a time when the population of students enrolling in public schools is more diverse than ever, finding space within the school day to weaken the frame of pedagogic interactions to allow for non-standard and more diverse forms of expression within the expectations of the Common Core

State Standards could be more beneficial for all learners and their teachers, as opposed to a blanket policy on what a school day should include.

The data generated and explored with these young learners shows how the diversity within the public school system in Silicon Valley, California, can be embraced to enrich the educational experiences of an increasingly diverse population. While it is not the intention of this project to generate data that is generalizable to other contexts, it may be possible to reflect upon the findings and the ways in which the current trends in education could possibly be continuing the marginalization of learners from diverse backgrounds, especially considering the migration of many children and their families within the global context and how that impacts systems of education in many countries (Besharov et al 2013). Harcourt and Conroy (2011) remind us that when children talk about their experiences, they are creating credible information that can then be used to influence policy in education.

8.2 Implications for Teaching Practice

Each learner brings a unique sociocultural background to the learning environment which can help to inform practice if the time is taken to get to know learners and their families. The application of Bernstein's theories provides the opportunity to move away from marginalizing learners by adding a level of understanding that can potentially contribute to proactive planning and inclusive classrooms

Reading Buddies provides an opportunity within the school day for young learners to draw on their holistic social identities, including their complete linguistic repertoires, creativity, and sense of play, to make meaning of English language texts. Students are also building relationships and interactional skills that can transcend the classroom or school environment.

The data generated by Ichigo and Sophia brought to light the idea of translanguaging, which is a relatively young theory in language acquisition studies. Working with Ichigo to reflect upon her own language usage provided the opportunity for the teacher to gain a deeper insight in to the ways in which she was dependent upon both of her languages when making meaning. This had a profound impact on the teacher/researcher because it was through seeking to understand Ichigo's language usage that she became familiar with the theory of translanguaging, which was a new concept for her, and challenged her understanding of bilingualism that was based on previous education, training, and policy. Thus, engaging in research with children as co-researchers served to inform the professional knowledge of the teacher in a way that will directly impact future pedagogic relationships and classroom practices.

The Reading Buddy scheme, as described in this inquiry, could be considered a resource neutral pedagogic practice, meaning that it could be implemented within existing structures of any

school that has children of different ages, books or some form of printed text (including digital resources), and teachers willing to make time within the day for cross age dyads to work together. This inquiry took place in a neighborhood public school in the United States, but this program is one that could be implemented in any educational context with learners of differing ages. If the program was integrated into teacher development programs, it could help teachers working in the kind of education context where the study was situated to deploy more effective teaching practice that could create more meaningful learning opportunities for young children. Given the increasing diversity of schools across the world with the increasing mobility of families and children (especially in post-conflict situations), the kinds of practices identified here could become increasingly important to explore and implement.

It is important to look at the influences on Reading Buddies identified by the Kindergarten and third-grade students (see figure 13), to determine how those aspects of Reading Buddies might provide insight for improving teaching practice. The four categories of influence were peers, adults, resources and environment. From these categories different themes were identified as discussed previously. Each of these categories will be explored in more detail.

8.2a Interactions with Peers

All the students agreed that interactions with classmates, buddies, table groups, and learning groups, such as reading groups or literature circles, influenced them in their role as buddies.

While there were no siblings in the partner classes, the students were insistent that their siblings influenced them in Reading Buddies because working with someone older or younger reminded those who had siblings of the ways they worked with siblings at home when trying to engage with a buddy. The siblings were not present during Reading Buddies, but their influence was impacting the pedagogic relationship between the buddies. Vygotsky, within his discussions of the ZPD, as referenced by Daniels (2001), indicated that a supportive other can exert influence on a learner, even if not physically present. Bringing the influence of interactions with siblings at home into classroom interactions could also be seen as a way for young learners to bring everyday experience into the learning environment, when otherwise such connections might not be possible. Bernstein would see this as a weakening of the frame of the instructional discourse to allow horizontal, or everyday experience and knowledge to enter pedagogic discourse (1975). When the instructional discourse is strongly framed, which, it could be said, is what happens when schools become focused on assessment and high-stakes test results, the values, beliefs, attitudes, principles of conduct, and interpersonal relationships that comprise the regulative discourse of an institution become less of a focus, and the risk of marginalizing learners with diverse needs is great (Daniels 2001).

8.2b The influence of Adults

The students expressed generally positive influence by adults, although several indicated that sometimes they felt more shy and didn't want to talk in front of adults, even the teacher if she was in a bad mood. Some indicated that parent helpers were mostly good and they enjoyed the attention they got when there were more adults in the classroom. The assistants and support staff were considered just like teachers in the students' minds. Many children talked about the influence of their grandparents on the decisions they made as a Big Buddy. The children who seemed to feel the strongest about this were the children of immigrant families from India, Korea, and Japan who had spent a significant amount of time with their grandparents in their formative years because their parents worked long hours. One child from India explained that her grandparents sang to her a lot and would play word games with picture books while they held her on their laps. She remembered laughing and feeling so happy to play silly word games. She loved her memories with her grandparents, and expressed that they helped her to love books. When asked to play a silly word game, she laughed that it wouldn't sound the same in English but she would try. She proceeded to facilitate a game similar to "I spy" using pictures and rhyming words from a book on the table, explaining how words would sound in Marathi and how the rhyming words would never go together when speaking Marathi and that is what makes it so funny, but in English it didn't really seem the same. Child care and the involvement of the extended family in the primary years is a practice that transcends cultures. Playing word games, singing and making up silly rhymes are also pedagogic tools common to many cultures. Building on this sociocultural understanding to make connections between home language practices and language practices within the classroom has the potential to empower young

learners. Freidrich, Anderson and Morrison (2014), conducted research within an activity theory framework that explored a family literacy project aimed at supporting multilingual immigrant families in Canada. Their findings indicate that families appreciated the use of their primary languages within the literacy program, as well as the use of culturally familiar content and cultural practices. Weakening of the frame of literacy practices during Reading Buddies creates a space in which children can share familial literacy practices within the school day.

8.2c Influences of the learning environment on young learners

Most students indicated that the organization of the classroom was a big influence. Some students were not comfortable sitting on the floor because it was dirty from shoes and other things, and they liked being able to sit or stand at round tables instead. This is culturally relevant information shared by students whose families immigrated from Russia and Latvia, that can inform teacher expectations about the use of space. Many students liked being able to sit outside and read. The older students indicated that they liked when the desks were changed around because they could sit with different classmates and have a different space within the classroom to notice different posters on the walls, and artefacts on display. When asked to explain this, students indicated that sitting in different places in the classroom helped them to know the classroom better. Students indicated that they liked it when the classroom felt exciting and happy and they liked to be able to choose their own working place and books. The students seem to be indicating that having some degree of power and control over the classroom structure and interaction therein was motivating. Weakening the framing of the regulative discourse, hierarchical structures, and the internal classification of space (Bernstein 1975) seems to empower young learners and create spaces in which they are motivated to engage in learning.

8.2d Helpful resources from the perspective of young learners

Being able to select books for themselves and for their buddies had a big impact on students. Nearly all expressed that this helped them to want to read and share books. Students also liked being able to make books with buddies and use technology to read online books or look at websites sometimes. The resource that students seemed to appreciate the most was the ability to use their other languages to interact in the classroom and with buddies. Most indicated that using their home language was sometimes helpful and that “it makes me feel good and feel like me”. It is empowering for young learners when space is created within the school day in which they have control over the pedagogic discourse in such a way that learning enables them to express individual identity.

8.3 Implications for Research Methods

This study was originally designed as a quantitative study with the intention of using a quasi-experimental design and statistical analysis of gains on specific skills that could be taught during Reading Buddies. Upon reflection, the researcher realized that such findings would not capture the essence of Reading Buddies and the benefits to students that she felt were far more significant than test scores. In order to engage with students and discover what their experiences were during Reading Buddies and to what extent those experiences influenced meaningful engagement with texts, a qualitative approach was decided upon. An assumption I made in engaging in this research with students was that they were the experts on their own lives and experiences, which represented a shift in the power dynamic between teacher and students.

Using a child-centered qualitative approach that drew from ethnographic methods and engaged children as co-researchers proved to be an effective technique to address the research questions. This methodology created opportunities to cultivate strong relationships with children. The power dynamic between teacher and student was altered to allow for meaningful insights in to the ways in which young learners who are acquiring English engage with texts within a monolingual English learning environment. The buddy relationship is unique because children seem to be able to communicate with one another with a genuineness that cannot be replicated in a relationship between an adult and a child. The structure of the research project positioned the teacher/researcher in the role of a learner, and shifted power and control of pedagogic interactions, positioning the children as experts, allowing the adult researcher to observe and participate with students in a way that traditional classroom interactions might not.

A significant contribution of this research project was in using video data and providing the opportunity for children to reflect upon their own actions and thinking, and have their reflections

acknowledged and valued. As noted by Robson (2011), Morgan (2007) and Woodhead and Faulkner (2008), there is a need for more research in which young children reflect upon their own experiences.

8.4 Theoretical implications

Globalization and the movement of skilled workers around the globe, and the recent wave of forced migration happening in zones of conflict, have far reaching effects on education institutions in every context. The increased emphasis on test scores and systems of accountability creates educational settings in which many learners are marginalized and disenfranchised. This necessitates that researchers continue to embrace theories that allow for holistic engagement with the complexities of the intersectionality of diversity. The use of sociocultural learning theory together with Bernstein's theories in this study helped to present a more complete depiction of the lived experiences of those involved with this research. The interaction of these theories allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of the interactions within a classroom, and especially within an alternative pedagogy such as Reading Buddies.

As researchers encounter increased diversity in the field, embracing multiple theories can provide a deeper understanding of the human experience, especially the experiences of children. Research that is reliant on single theoretical frameworks can miss important insights into understanding complex phenomena such as investigated here. The combination of pedagogy, institutional context, teacher-student, and student-student interactions/relations, and processes of learning created a unique level of theoretical complexity which would have been difficult to address through any singular theoretical prism. Combining theories, in a complimentary way, as was done here, is important when investigating the kind of complex phenomena explored in this study.

8.5 Implications for Future Research

The theoretical framework in which this research rests relied upon the work of Vygotsky and Bernstein. There are other theories that could be applied to this same or similar data that might provide even further understanding of the complexities of the learning experiences of young learners. One idea for future research might draw upon post-Vygotskian theorists within the field of Activity Theory. This theory puts activity at the heart of analysis, in contrast to sociocultural theorists who rely upon the use of speech and semiotic mediation (Daniels 2001). Post-Vygotskian application of the ZPD indicate that learning results from activity and participation benefits all participants (Wertsch 1998). In looking at the dynamic between Jasmin and Cheeku, being in the role of Big Buddy seemed to instill in Jasmin a sense of power and control over the pedagogic interactions, which, in and of itself, seemed to support Jasmin in her growth as a learner. Her learning seems to have been influenced by the activity itself. Future studies of alternative pedagogies such as cross-age buddies, might benefit from a more post-Vygotskian framework, together with Bernstein's theories.

The use of video data with young learners presented the opportunity for the children to reflect upon their own actions and experiences and share insights with the teacher/researcher. Their reflections challenged the thinking of the adult and brought to fore different ways of thinking about pedagogic interactions and the use of language, power and control in the educational setting. Future research that engages children as co-researchers and uses video data could provide further insights that could inform policy and practice decisions.

This study does not attempt to say that Reading Buddies is the answer to problems within education settings. However, it can be argued that Reading Buddies, and other similar alternative pedagogies presents the opportunity to create space within the school day in which young

learners can build relationships with one another, with teachers and with texts, and that can make a contribution towards empowering students, and building a system of education that supports all learners in maximizing their potential.

References

Achieve(2014) *Closing the Expectations Gap 2014 Annual Report on the Alignment of State K-12 Policies and Practice with the Demands of College and Careers*. www.achieve.org [Accessed online August 8, 2015].

Allen, V.L.(1976). The helping relationship and socialization of children: Some perspectives on tutoring, in V.L. Allen (Ed.), *Children as teachers: Theory and research on tutoring*. New York:Academic Press.

Apple, M.W. and Beane, J.A. (2007). Schooling for Democracy 2020 8(2). 34-38.

Apple, Michael W. (2013). Knowledge, Power, and Education: the selected works of Michael W. Apple. Routledge: New York, NY.

Au, K. (2000). A multicultural perspective on policies for improving literacy achievement: Equity and excellence. In M.L. Kamil, P.B. Mosenthal, P.H. Pearson and R. Barr (Eds). *Handbook of Reading Research*. 835-851.

Babicki, L. and Sally Luke (2007). Oh, and we do reading, too. *Montessori Life*, issue 2

Baker, C.(2001). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, Colin (2006). Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism, 4th edition. Multilingual Matters, Tonawanda, NY.

Baker, Eva (2008). The Achievement Gap in California: Context, Status and Approaches for Improvement. UC Davis School of Education Center for Applied Policy in Education.

Bernstein, B. (1975). *Class, codes, and control: Vol. III, Towards a theory of educational transmissions*. London: Routledge.

Bernstein, B (2000). *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research Critique*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Bernstein, B. (2003). *Class, Codes and control: Towards a theory of educational transmissions, vol 3*. London: Routledge.

Besharov, Douglas J. ,Lopez, Mark H.,Siegel, Melissa (2013) ; International Conference News: Trends in Migration and Migration Policy. *Journal of Policy Analysis & Management*, 2013, Vol.32 (3), p.655-661

- Blake, B. and T. Pope (2008). Developmental Psychology: Incorporating Piaget's and Vygotsky's Theories in Classrooms. *Journal of Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives in Education*, 1(1), 59-67.
- Block, C.C. and Dellamura, R.J.(2000/2001). Better book buddies. *The Reading Teacher*, 54(4), 364-370.
- Bowman, S. and Stott, F (1994). Understanding development in a cultural context: The challenge for teachers. In B. Mallory and R. New (eds). *Diversity and Developmentally Appropriate Practices: Challenge for Early Childhood Education*. NY: Teachers College Press.
- California Department of Education (2015) Available from <http://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/rl/cf/elaeldfrmwrksbeadopted.asp> [Accessed September 2015]
- Chen H. and B. Derewianka (2009). Binaries and Beyond: A Bernsteinian Perspective on change in literacy education. *Research Papers in Education*. 24(2) 223-245.
- Christ T., M.M Chiu and X.C. Wang (2014). Preschoolers' engagement with reading behaviors: A statistical discourse analysis. *Journal of Research in Reading* 37(4) 375-408.
- Christ T., M.M Chiu and X.C. Wang (2015). Emergent Readers' social interaction styles and their comprehension processes during buddy reading. *Literacy Research and Instruction*, 54(1), 45-66.
- Christensen, P. and A. Prout(2002). Working with ethical symmetry in social research with children, *Childhood*, 9(4) 477-497.
- Cianca, S.(2012). Corss-Age Reading Buddies and Culturally Sensitive Literature: Student-Centered English Language Instruction in an Ethiopian Budget School, *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 26(4), 392-417.
- Cohen, P.A., Kulik, J.A., & Kulik, C.C. (1982). Educational outcomes of tutoring: A meta-analysis of findings. *American Educational Research Journal*, (9), 237-248.
- Cole, M and Y. Engestrom (1993). A cultural-historical approach to distributed cognition in G. Salomon(ed) *Distributed Cognitions: Psychological and Educational Considerations*. New York:Cambridge University Press.
- Creswell J.W and Miller D.L.(2000). Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry, *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), pp. 124-130.
- CTC (2017). California Commission on Teacher Credentialing. www.ctc.ca.gov
- Cummins, Jim (2000). *Language, Power, and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10 (2), 221-240..

Daniel, S. and Mark Pacheco (2015). Translanguaging Practices and Perspectives of Four Multilingual Teens. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 59(6) 653-663

Daniels, H. (2001). *Vygotsky and Pedagogy*. London: Routledge.

Daniels, H., M Cole and J. Wertsch (2007). *The Cambridge Companion to Vygotsky*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The Flat World and Education: How America's Commitment to Equity will Determine our Future*. New York, NY: Teacher's College Press.

Delpit, L. (1995). *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*. New York: New York Press.

DiCamilla, Fredrick J and Anton, Marta (2012). Functions of L1 in the collaborative interaction of beginning and advanced second language learners. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*.

Donnelly, Michael(2016). Inequalities in higher education: Applying the sociology of Basil Bernstein. *Sociology*. ISSN 1469-8684.

Fielding, L.G. and P.D. Pearsons (1994). Reading Comprehension: What works. *Educational Leadership* 51(5) 62-68.

Freire, Paulo (1993). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Fountas, Irene C. and Gay Su Pinnell (2007). *Fountas and Pinnell Benchmark Assessment System*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Friedland, E. and K. Truesdell(2004). Kids reading together: Ensuring the success of a buddy reading program. *Reading Teacher*, 58, 75-79.

Fuchs, D., L.S. Fuchs, P. Mathes, and D.C. Simmons (1997). Peer-assisted learning strategies: Making classrooms more responsive to diversity. *American Education Research Journal*, 34, 174-206.

Garcia, G.E.2003. The Reading Comprehension Development and Instruction of English Language Learners. in *Rethinking Reading Comprehension*, edited by Sweet, A. P and C,E. Snow. 30-50. New York, NY: the Guidford Press.

Garcia, Ofelia (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Malden, MA.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Garcia, O. and J. Kleifgen (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs, and practices for English Language Learners*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Gollop, M.(2000). Interviewing Children: a research perspective. In A.B.Smith, N. Taylor and M. Gollop (eds). *Children's voices: Research, Policy, and Practice*. Auckland: Pearson Education. 18-36.

Greig A., J. Taylor and T. MacKay (2007) (Eds) *Doing Research with Children*. London: Sage Publications Ltd. 135-156.

Hall, Katrina W. and Lunetta M. Williams (2015). Science trade books and buddies: Involving 3rd graders in informational texts. *Childhood Education* 91(2) 123-134.

Hammersley, M. and Paul Atkinson (2007). *Ethnography Principles in practice, third edition*. New York: Routledge.

Harcourt, D. and Hether Conroy.(2011). Informed consent: processes and procedures seeking research partnerships with young children. In Harcourt, Perry and Waller(Eds) *Researching Young Children's Perspectives: Debating the ethics and Dilemmas of educational research with children*. New York: Routledge.

Hornberger, Nancy H. and Holly Link (2012). Translanguaging in Today's Classrooms: A Biliteracy Lens, *Theory into Practice*, 51(4), pp 239-247.

Hubbard, Ruth and Brenda Miller Power (2003). *The art of classroom inquiry: a handbook for teacher-researchers*. Portsmouth, NH: Greenwood Press.

James, A.(2007). Giving voice to children's voices: Practicesand problems, pitfalls and potentials. *American Anthropologist* 109 (2) 261-272.

Jennings, Cheryl (2004). *The Reading Together Cross-Age Tutoring Program and is effects on the English language proficiency and reading achievement of English Language Learners*. Dissertation, University of North Texas.

Jimenez, R.T., S. David, K. Fagan, V.J. Risko, M. Pacheco, L. Pray, and M. Gonzales (2015). Using translation to drive conceptual development for students becoming literate in English as an additional language. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 49(3) 248-271.

Krashen, S.D.(1981). *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S.D.(1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. New York: Prentice-Hall.

- Kamut, S. Ali Mir, and Biju Mathew (2004). Producing Hi-Tech: Globalization, the State and Migrant Subjects. In Lauder, H. P. Brown, J. Dillabough, and A. H. Halsey (Eds.) *Education, Globalization, and Social Change*. Oxford: Oxford. 341-354
- Lewis, W.G., B. Jones and C. Baker (2012). Translanguaging: developing its conceptualization and contextualization, *Education Research and Evaluation*, 18(7). 665-670.
- Lowery, R.M., D. Sabis-Burns, and S. Anderson-Brown (2008). Book buddies: Kindergarteners and fifth graders explore books together. *Dimensions of Early Childhood*, 31(3), 31-38.
- Malsbary, C.(2014). “It’s not just learning English, it’s learning other cultures”: belonging, power, and possibility in an immigrant contact zone. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. 27(10) 1312-1336.
- Mathes, P.G., J.K. Howard, S.H. Allen and D. Fuchs (1998). Peer-assisted learning strategies for first grade readers: Responding to the needs of diverse learners. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 33(1), 62-90.
- McGuinn, Patrick (2015). Schooling the State: ESEA and the Evolution of the U.S. Department of Education. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 1(3), 77-94.
- Miller, M.E. and D.W. Rowe (2014). “two voices”: Pre-kindergarteners’ translanguaging practices in dual-language e-book composing events. *63rd Yearbook of the Literacy research Association* 215-230.
- Mol, S.E. and A.G. Bus (2011) To read or not to read: A meta-analysis of print exposure from infancy to early adulthood. *Psychological Bulletin*, (137) 267–296.
- Morgan, A. (2007). Using video-stimulated recall to understand young children’s perceptions of learning in classroom settings. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*. 15(2) 213-226.
- NASBE -National Association of State Boards of Education (2014). Available from <http://www.nasbe.org/project/common-core-state-stadards-ccss> [Accessed August 24, 2014].
- National Center for Education Statistics (2016) <https://nces.ed.gov> [Accessed January 2016].
- Perez, Bertha (2013). *Sociocultural Contexts of Language and Literacy*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Punch, S.(2002). Research with Children: The same or different from research with adults? *Childhood*, 9(3) 321-341.
- Qvortrup, J. (1994). Childhood matters: An introduction, in J. Qvortrup, M. Bardy, G. Sgritta and H. Wintersberger (Eds), *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, Practice and Politics*, Aldershot: Avebury.

Rekrut, M.D.(1994). Peer and cross-age tutoring: The lessons of research. *Journal of Reading*, 37(5), 356-361.

Robson, S.(2011). Producing and using video data with young children: a case study of ethical questions and practical consequences. In Harcourt, Perry and Waller(Eds) *Researching Young Children's Perspectives: Debating the ethics and Dilemmas of educational research with children*. New York: Routledge.

Roskos, K. and James Christie (2011). The Play-Literacy Nexus and the Importance of Evidence-Based Techniques in the Classroom. *American Journal of Play* 4(2) 204-224.

Rubinstein-Avila, Eliane (2003). Negotiating power and redefining literacy expertise: Buddy Reading in a dual-immersion programme. *Journal of Research in Reading*:26(1) pp 83-97.

Sayer, P. (2013). Translanguaging, TexMex, and bilingual pedagogy: Emergent bilinguals learning through the vernacular. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(1) 63-88.

Schutz, R. (2004). Vygotsky and Language Acquisition. Available from www.sk.com.br/sk-vygot.html. [accessed online June 5, 2011]

Singh, P. (2001). Pedagogic Discourses and Student Resistance in Australian Secondary Schools. In A. Morais, I. Nees, B. Davies and H. Daniels (Eds) *Towards a sociology of pedagogy. The contribution of Basil Bernstein to research*. 251-276.

Slowik, Hallie Yopp, and Nancy Brynolson. (2015). *Executive Summary: English Language Arts/English Language Development Framework for California Public Schools: Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve*. Sacramento: Consortium for the Implementation of the Common Core State Standards. http://www.scoe.net/castandards/Documents/summary_ela-eld_framework.pdf. [Accessed February 2017]

Smith, A.(2011). Respecting children's rights and agency: Theoretical insights into ethical research procedures. In Harcourt, Perry and Waller(Eds) *Researching Young Children's Perspectives: Debating the ethics and Dilemmas of educational research with children*. New York: Routledge.

Suoto-Manning, M and C.B Felderman (2013). Negotiating critical literacies: Toward full inclusion in early childhood classrooms. In V, Vasques and J. Wood (Eds) *Perspectives and provocations in early childhood education* 21-34. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Swain, M., S. Lapkin, I. Knouzi, W. Suzuki, and L. Brooks (2009). Languaging: University students learn the grammatic concept of voice in French. *The Modern Language Journal*, 93, 5-29.

Tracey, D.H. and Morrow, L.M. (2006). *Lenses on reading*. New York: Guilford Press.

Thomson, F. (2007). Are methodologies for children keeping them in their place?. *Children's Geographies*, 5(3) 207-218.

Thomson, P. (2008). *Doing Visual Research with Children and Young People*. London: Routledge.

Topping, Keith (1989). Peer Tutoring and Paired Reading: Combining Two Powerful Techniques. *The Reading Teacher*, 42(7), 488-494.

H. Raikes, B.A. Pan, G. Luze, C.S. Tamis-LeMonda, J. Brooks-Gunn, J. Constatine, L.B.Tarullo, H.A. Raikes, E.T. Rodriguez (2006). Mother-child book reading in low-income families: Correlates and outcomes during the first three years of life. *Child Development* (77), 924-953.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1978) *Mind in society: the development of higher psychological processes*. M. Cole, V John-Steiner, S. Scribner, and E. Souberman (editors and translators). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1987). *The Collected Works of L.S. Vygotsky*, Vol. 1: *Problems of General Psychology*, including the volume *Thinking and Speech*, R.W. Rieber and A. S. Carton (eds), N. Minick (translator), New York: Plenum Press.

Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, (43) 1222-1235.

Wells, G. (1999). *Dialogic Inquiry: Toward a Sociocultural Practice and Theory of Education*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woodhead, M and D. Faulkner (2008). Subjects, objects, or participants? Dilemmas of psychological research with children. In P. Christensen and A. James (eds), *Research with Children Perspectives and Practices*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge. 10-39.

Wright, Jim and Kristi S Cleary (2006). Kids in the tutor seat: Building schools' capacity to help struggling readers through a cross-age peer-tutoring program. *Psychology in the Schools*, 43(1), 99-107.

Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case Study Research Design and Methods*. California: Sage.

Zhao, Y. (2009). *Catching Up or Leading the Way: American Education in the Age of Globalization*. ASCD: Virginia.

Appendices

Appendix A



Department of Education Claverton Down Bath BA2 7AY United Kingdom



My teacher, Mrs. Moriarty, is a student at a university.



She has to do a research project and write a big paper.



Mrs. Moriarty wants to know more about me and how I think about and

figure out what texts and books mean.



She wants to know more about how I interact with books and texts

with my Reading Buddy



To help with this, she wants to make videos of me and my buddy





Mrs. Moriarty wants to talk with me about my thinking . I can also keep a journal and write and draw pictures about my reading



buddy time.

No one except Mrs. Moriarty will know which words or pictures are mine. I will make up a false name for her to use in her paper if she writes about me.



Yes, I want Mrs. Moriarty to learn more about my reading and thinking. I can stop being in her research any time.



No, I do not want Mrs. Moriarty to learn more about my reading and thinking. I can change my mind and be in her research later if I want.

Student name

date

Appendix B



Department of Education Claverton Down Bath BA2 7AY United Kingdom

October 4, 2015

Dear Parents/Guardians,

It was so nice to meet so many of you at Back-to-School night! I am excited to share more information about my doctoral research study with you, and to get started working with the students.

The focus of my research is on the cross-age reading buddy process and the experiences of children and the ways in which they interact with texts. The Common Core State Standards call for students to interact deeply with a wide variety of texts. Students are also expected to engage in meaningful conversations about text with adults and peers. In response to this, the research project I plan puts the learner at the heart of the process, and their voices and perspectives will be captured using a variety of methods. Providing opportunities to interact with texts in English and teaching students strategies for working with texts is only part of the process. In order for these experiences to be meaningful, understanding what is meaningful to each learner has to be a part of the process. Gaining insight into the processes students are employing to engage with text can only come from the students themselves, if the reciprocity between children and text is to be genuine and meaningful. Paying attention to children's words will help us to co-construct meaning and build authentic interaction with texts together. Capturing student voice using video, conversations, journals, and art can only deepen the process and contribute to meaningful relationships between learners, adults, and texts.

During Reading Buddies this school year, the students in my class and Mrs. Robinson's class will all participate in the same literature based activities. We will be sharing books and activities, just like all classes involved in reading buddy sessions do. The only difference is that I will be paying close attention to the interactions the students are sharing and the ways in which they are interacting with texts. To keep the interactions as authentic as possible, I plan to use video and audio recording devices in a way that is not intrusive to the reading buddy session – for example, the video camera will be situated out of sight and be stationary, recording the sessions on a continual basis. I will be analyzing the conversations and re-watching the videos with students to gain deeper insight to their thinking. The video recordings will only be viewed by me, Mrs. Robinson and the students involved. Students will also have the opportunity to reflect upon their learning using journals, art projects, and video diaries. Upon completion of the study, the videos and recordings will be destroyed. Journals and art projects will be returned to the students.

In order to empower students to be active participants in the research, I will be seeking informed consent from the students. Students will be provided the opportunity to select a pseudonym, or name they would like to be referred to as in the study. Students may opt out of the study at any time, and participation or refusal to participate will in no way impact or interfere with the students' school experience. This research is being conducted following the guidelines set forth by the American Education Research Association (AERA) and the British Education Research Association (BERA). For more information about this study, please feel free to contact me directly. Inquiries can also be directed to my university supervisor, Dr. Michael Donnelly, whose contact details are listed below.

Consent forms are attached. Please sign and return as soon as possible.
Thank you!

Respectfully,

Kristen S Moriarty
3rd Grade Teacher
Parkwood Elementary
kmoriarty@scusd.net
(408) 423-1671

Dr. Michael Donnelly, Lecturer
Department of Education
University of Bath Claverton Down
BA2 7AY United Kingdom
+44(0) 1225 38545

Appendix C



Department of Education Claverton Down Bath BA2 7AY United Kingdom

October 4, 2015

_____, as a member of Mrs. Moriarty's or Mrs. Robinson's class at Parkwood Elementary, has the opportunity to participate in Mrs. Moriarty's doctoral research study.

_____ name and likeness will not be used in any identifiable way in the study. Participation is voluntary and will in no way impact or influence the educational experience provided.

Any video or audio recordings will only be reviewed by Mrs. Moriarty, Mrs. Robinson and the children involved. The recordings will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study.

_____ I give permission for my child, _____ to be included in Mrs. Moriarty's doctoral research project.

_____ I do not give permission for my child _____ to be included in Mrs. Moriarty's doctoral research project.

Parent name printed

Parent signature

Date